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THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS

OF THE

ANGLO-SAXONS.

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OF THE

ANGLO-SAXONS

63892

BY

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PREFACE.

OUR knowledge of the Barbarian peoples would be infinitely more exact if historians, in recording the various phases of the great invasions, had studied all the nations who took part in them. Inquiry into the special developments and the particular tribal organisation of each of these numerous hordes provides us with material for a better general knowledge of the others, while the gaps in their annals may be filled by the aid of comparisons founded on ethnographic data. In any review of their origin, of the relations which they established along the line of their migrations, the alliances they contracted, the goal they sought, the treaties by which they bound themselves, their various halting-places before finally settling down—it is imperative that they should all be included in one general survey. These invaders, depicted hitherto in somewhat undecided colours, deserve to be more closely studied. Each tribal unit in turn throws light on its vast family, and illustrates its genera character by similarities in customs, language, industry, and tendencies.

The interest attaching to the history of nationalities, and of the transformation effected in them by the incursions of the Barbarian tribes, has encouraged us to publish a sketch of Anglo-Saxon archæology. The industrial art of these invaders has certain characteristics which distinguish it from other branches of contemporary archæology. The force of the Anglo-Saxon genius compels recognition, and constitutes one of the most striking features in the physiognomy of the Barbarian nations.

We cannot pretend to offer to English archæologists any new or startling discoveries. Anglo-Saxon industrial art has never, it is true, been dealt with as a whole, but its various branches, in all their numberless details, are none the less well known. It is our desire to provide archæologists with means of comparison, to enable them to judge from a broader standpoint questions relating to the great invasions. Our essay may serve to render less obscure an episode in the Barbarian epoch of which hardly anything is known on the Continent. Nor is there anything surprising in our design, seeing that historians recognise this period as one of general activity among the Barbarian races. These nations were yielding to one universal impulse when they hurled themselves upon the Roman provinces during the decline of the Empire.

English archæologists have collected with care the interesting remains of the industrial art of the Anglo-Saxon race. Numerous learned and elaborate monographs have been published, but they have become extremely rare, and no one has as yet undertaken the production of an archæological synthesis.

We are still waiting for a treatise which shall deal with the subject in its fullest developments, and we should seek in vain in England for a work which would give, even in the briefest

form a general idea of Anglo-Saxon industries. So numerous are the archæological publications in England that we cannot hope to furnish English men of science with any fresh materials. Yet this very abundance of matter leads us to think that the time is come to attempt an essay which shall afford an opportunity of acquiring some general idea of Saxon antiquities, the peculiarities of which are so deeply interesting to archæologists. So vast is the field to be explored that these preliminary observations will be necessarily incomplete. Our work will be limited to a simple but useful summary of the archæology of the Anglo-Saxon period. We have already published some notes of a similar character on Lombard industries.[1] We are starting, amidst numberless difficulties, on a line of investigation which, with time, may be brought to the desired state of perfection. Meanwhile the grouping of the materials relating to the industries of the Barbarian period will be of incontestable utility. It must be admitted that the archæology of the invaders has been hitherto neglected in France, in England, and elsewhere. The Roman period and the Middle Ages have received much more attention, and have been much more closely studied. The period of transition between these two epochs has been the subject of investigations on the lines of history, of philology, and of ethnology; but its archæological side has remained buried in oblivion. The Romans scornfully designated as Barbarians all those nations which did not belong to the sovereign people; yet these nationalities possessed an art which did not merit the scorn poured out with too great severity upon the invaders of the Empire. The epoch of the invasions was the great prelude to the Middle Ages; this prelude deserves our most serious attention, for it is the introduction to the study of our civilisation. The domain of archæology among the Barbarian nations contains immense riches, for it covers enormous territories. The problems which it offers for solution are complex, owing to the variety of the subjects it includes, and to the vast extent of its geographical area. We have to go back to the origin of these peoples, accompany them on their march, and trace their development, in order to recognise the forms assumed by their art in each of the different nationalities which they formed. As objects of study, the Barbarian nations are so closely bound up together that isolated investigation is impossible. Only when it has been studied, and interpreted as a whole, will the epoch of the invasions be rightly understood.

In recording the principal features of the Anglo-Saxon family we hope to find imitators, and thus succeed in reproducing the general physiognomy of the Barbarian peoples.

The English have been scrupulously careful to preserve all such antiquities as had relation to their history. Their public and private collections are numerous, and their discoveries have supplied matter for numerous publications.

As early as the last century Faussett and Douglas occupied themselves in determining the features which distinguished Anglo-Saxon art from the industrial products characteristic of the Roman occupation.

The *Nenia Britannica* of Douglas, printed in 1793, is worthy of attention, as indicating, in various ways, the first appearance of a still youthful science.

The Archæological Album (1845), and *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, by Thomas Wright, have next to be noticed, the latter work, first published in 1852, having already gone through five editions. The *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, by the Rev. Bryan Faussett, written between 1757 and 1773, was published in 1856, with an introduction and notes by Mr. Roach Smith. Next comes the *Horæ Ferales* of Kemble. Mr. Yonge Akerman

[1] *Études Archéologiques. Époque des Invasions Barbares. Industrie Longobarde.* Paris, 1888.

published, in 1847, an *Archæological Index*, and in 1855 *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*. Mr. Roach Smith produced, between 1843 and 1868, a series of seven volumes, called *Collectanea Antiqua*, in which Anglo-Saxon archæology plays a very important part. We must further mention Mr. Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*, an account of the cemetery at Little Wilbraham, which appeared in 1852, and Mr. Wylie's *Fairford Graves*, published in the same year.

The English reviews, especially *Archæologia*, the *Archæological Journal*, the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, and the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, have published a considerable series of articles on Anglo-Saxon antiquities. These publications are in general confined to a single locality, sometimes to a county, as in the case of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* and the *Nenia Britannica*, which deal specially with Anglo-Saxon barrows in Kent.

Kemble's *The Saxon in England*[1] contains some valuable historical documents. From the anthropological point of view, the *Crania Britannica*[2] is full of information concerning the bones found in Anglo-Saxon tombs.

It is noticeable that the period during which the most important works on the Anglo-Saxons were published in England is contemporaneous with the explorations of the Abbé Cochet in Normandy. This eminent antiquary gave a great impetus to archæological research.

Since the appearance of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* and the *Horæ Ferales*, though investigations have not been exactly abandoned, little has resulted from them beyond review articles. We have drawn upon these scattered sources of information for our sketch of the general position. The knowledge of the archæology of the great invasion has an international value for those countries in which the Barbarians have left traces of importance.

We shall necessarily obtain but an imperfect result, but our observations will at least form one more factor in the study of the Barbarian epoch.

[1] London, 1849.

[2] Thurnam and Davis, *Crania Britannica*. London, 1865.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
THE INVADERS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE FIFTH CENTURY	1
The Jutes	2
The Saxons	4
The Angles	7
The Frisians	8
The Anglo-Saxons	10
ANGLO-SAXON ARMS	13
The Sword	13
The Spear	20
The Angon	25
The Scramasaxe	27
The Battle-axe	29
The Bow and Arrows	30
The Shield	32
ANGLO-SAXON FIBULÆ	37
Radiated Fibulæ	40
S-shaped Fibulæ	43
Bird-shaped Fibulæ	44
Cruciform Fibulæ	45
Square-headed Fibulæ	50
Cupelliform or Saucer-shaped Fibulæ	54
Annular Fibulæ	58
Kentish Circular Fibulæ	62
Cloisonné Jewellery in England	68

PAGE

CHÂTELAINES, OR GIRDLE-HANGERS 74

NECKLACES AND GLASS BEADS 76

Crystal Balls 79

EAR-RINGS, HAIRPINS, AND COMBS 84

Hairpins 85

Combs 87

BUCKLES 90

Steels 96

BUCKETS 97

GLASS VASES 104

POTTERY 112

ANGLO-SAXON GRAVES 119

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

Fig.		Page
1.	Sword-hilt from Coombe (Kent) ...	17
2.	Sword-hilt from Reading (Berks)	19
3.	Spear-head from Homblières (Aisne)	23
4.	Spear-head from Immenstedt (Schleswig)	24
5.	Knife from Beakesbourne (Kent)	27
6.	Umbo from Barrington (Cambridgeshire)	35
7.	Fibula, in Silver-gilt, from Faversham (Kent). South Kensington Museum	41
8.	Fragment of Fibula from the same locality	42
9.	Fibulæ from Faversham (Kent)	44
10.	Cruciform Fibulæ	47
11.	Fibula from Ragley Park (Warwickshire)	51
12.	Coin of King Offa	56
13, 14.	Fibulæ from Fairford (Gloucestershire)	58
15.	Fibulæ from Livonia (Russia)	59
16.	Fibulæ from Sleaford (Lincolnshire)	61
17.	Fibula from Faversham (Kent)	67
18.	Back and Side View of a Fibula from Kingston	71
19.	Glass Beads from Sibertswold (Kent)	77
20.	Crystal Ball from Chatham (Kent)	81
21.	Buckle from Kingston Down	91
22.	Buckle from Gilton (Kent)	92
23.	Buckle from Gilton, near Ash	93
24.	Buckle from Smithfield	95
25.	Fragment from Gilton (Kent)	99
26.	Bucket from Envermeu (Normandy)	101
27.	Bucket from Verdun (Lorraine)	101
28.	Glass Vase from Faversham (Kent)	107
29.	Glass Vases from England, France, and Germany	109
30.	Urn from Kingston, near Derby	114
31.	Mortuary Urns	115

LIST OF PLATES.

I. Spears and Angons.

II. Umbones.

III. Radiated Fibulæ.

IV. Bird-shaped Fibulæ, Hairpins, S-shaped Fibulæ.

V. Cruciform Fibulæ.

VI. Cruciform and Square-headed Fibulæ.

VII. Square-headed Fibulæ.

VIII. Saucer-shaped Fibulæ.

IX. Annular Fibulæ.

X. Kentish Circular Fibulæ.

XI. Girdle-hangers.

XII. Buckles.

XIII. Situlæ or Buckets.

XIV. Glass Vases.

XV. Glass Vases.

XVI. Pottery.

XVII. Pottery.

THE INVADERS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE FIFTH CENTURY.

ETHNOGRAPHY and Archæology afford each other much mutual aid, and their reciprocal influence throws a flood of light on the facts of history. A knowledge of the tribes which invaded Great Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, must assuredly assist, in no ordinary degree, in the study of the industrial arts of the Anglo-Saxons.

The general anthropology of the primitive races of England is still shrouded in obscurity, but it is no part of our task to attempt to disperse the darkness. The necessary ethnographic inquiries are of course confined to the subject which we have to treat, and we must restrict our list to the races which occupied England after the retreat of the Roman armies.

The Jutes, the Saxons and the Angles, are the principal races, coming from the north of Germany, which founded permanent colonies in Britain.[1] The Frisians also established settlements of a lasting character, but of less importance. This is the most generally received opinion, but it is not held by all English historians.[2]

The nations above named are those most frequently mentioned in history, but prior to the period of the invasions, the coasts of Great Britain were constantly visited by corsairs belonging to other Scandinavian tribes. Indeed, a legion which was sent by Honorius to aid the Britons against the Picts and Scots, was also employed in driving out certain Barbarian pirates.[3] These general remarks are indispensable for a proper understanding of the archæological peculiarities noticeable

[1] Pinkerton, *Recherches sur l'Origine et les divers Etablissements des Scythes ou Goths*, p. 321. Paris, 1804. Translated from *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians and Goths.* London, 1787.

[2] "One very large body of Saxon population occupied the present Westphalia, but the tribes by whom Britain was invaded appear principally to have proceeded from the country now called Friesland; for of all the Continental dialects the ancient Frisick is the one which approaches most nearly to the Anglo-Saxon of our ancestors" (Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, chap. ii).

[3] Ed. de Muralt, *Essai de Chronographie Byzantine*, p. 33. St. Petersburg 1855.

in the burial-places of the Barbarians. The numerous tribes which started from the Cimbric Chersonese, in the course of their constantly renewed attacks, left traces so various in character, that it is idle to look for any uniformity of type in their mortuary furniture.[1] There can be no doubt that the groups of invaders classed as Angles, Saxons and Jutes, were in reality composed of many different tribes; and this fact helps to explain the peculiarities and special characteristics which we note in their cemeteries.[2]

THE JUTES.

The Jutes occupy the first place in chronological order, among the invaders of Great Britain.[3] They commenced the conquest by establishing themselves in Kent, and soon afterwards the Saxons obtained a foothold on the south and a portion of the east coast.[4] Historians generally place the settlement of the latter tribe in Kent at a later date, but these differences of opinion are probably more apparent than real, for the discrepancies in the matter of date no doubt arise from the habit of describing all the invading tribes by the generic name of Saxons. The various acquisitions of the Jutes, the Saxons and the Angles have been grouped together, and dealt with as a whole, because they have only been submitted to a cursory examination.[5]

The Jutes or Juti were a people belonging to the Gothic family.[6] Their name assumes many different forms. The Gioti are the Jutes, whose name is preserved in Jutland. They are also called Giotes or Jutes.[7] By other historians they are called Geatuni, Jotuni, or Guti, the G in this name, according to Grotius, being changed into J. In the opinion of this historian the words Guti and Gothi are synonymous.[8]

In some writers we find also the forms Gouti, Gioti, and Giothi.[9] Gothi and Guthæ again refer to the same nation.[10] Ducange gives nearly all these varieties,

[1] Thurnam and Davis, *Crania Britannica*, chap. vi., p. 80. London, 1865.

[2] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 23.

[3] Pinkerton, *Recherches sur l'Origine et les divers Etablissements des Scythes ou Goths*, p. 321. Paris, 1804.

[4] Freeman, *The Historical Geography of Europe*, p. 97. London, 1881.

[5] Pinkerton, *Recherches.*

[6] Dezobry and Bachelet, *Dictionnaire de Biographie et d'Histoire.* Paris, 1869.

[7] *Doutes et Conjectures sur les Huns du Nord*, p. 27, by Jacques Graberg of Hemsö. Florence, 1810.

[8] "Gutas, quod nomen si quis a Gothis differre putat, valde fallitur" (*Historia Gothorum ab Hugone Grotio*, p. 17. Amstelodani, CIↃ IↃCLV. Preface).

[9] "Florentii Wigorniensis ad Chronicum Appendix" (Zeuss, *Die Deutschen*, Munich).

[10] "Gothi et Guthæ eadem gens" (*Gothorum Sueonumque Historia*, p. 5. I. Magnus, 1617).

and adds to them "Getæ, the name by which they were known to the Romans, Geatas, in use amongst the Anglo-Saxons, and Joet, a word belonging to the old Gothic tongue."[1] The word Jute is derived probably from Juto, whence also we have Juthia and Juthonia.[2] Vitæ is also given as an altered form of Juti.[3] The name, under its various transformations, was used to designate the invaders of Great Britain.[4]

The Jutes, who inhabited the Cimbric Chersonese, came from Jutland, to which they gave their name. The united tribes which bore the name of Saxons included not only the Saxons of Ptolemy, but also probably the Frisians, the Angles and the Jutes.[5] Bede also points to Jutland as the land ot their origin,[6] and Adam of Bremen expresses the same opinion.[7] In fact the starting-point of the Jutes has never given rise to any discussion, all the writers who have dealt with the subject being in complete accord.

The Jutes established themselves in Kent in 449, several historians averring that they were the first invaders who formed permanent settlements.[8] The limits of the Kentish Jutes have been clearly determined.[9]

The arrival of the Jutes, and other tribes known in England under the name of Saxons, is almost coincident with the appearance in Gaul of the northern nation called the Franks.[10] The united tribes which bore the name of Saxons included probably Frisians, Angles and Jutes. These latter have been considered as representatives of the Teutons, having undergone a series of transformations.[11] The Jutes were Goths, while, according to Cluver, the Angles inhabited a country which lay between the Saxons and the Giothi. The Goths, the Danes, and even the Gepides came in ancient times from Scanzia.[12] The Jutes were closely allied with the Saxons, and belonged to the same confederation. For example, we find among the edicts

[1] Ducange, *Glossarium.*

[2] "Quod cum Saxones prudentius considerassent, mox arma in Danos duce quodam Juthone (a quo Juthia vel Juthonia nomen accepit) convertebant" (*Gothorum Sueonumque Historia*, auctore I. Magno, lib. ii., cap. 2).

[3] *Philippi Cluverii Germania Antiqua*, p. 321. Leyden, 1616.—Pinkerton, *Recherches*, p. 321.

[4] *Henrici Huntendonensis Historia Anglorum*, lib. v.; *Florentii Wigorniensis ad Chronicon Appendix.*

[5] Thurnam and Davis, *Crania Britannica*, chap. vi., p. 182. London, 1865.—Zeuss, *Die Deutschen*, pp. 146 and 499. Munich, 1837.

[6] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, i., 15.

[7] Zeuss, *Die Deutschen*, p. 501.

[8] Malte-Brun, *Géographie Universelle*, vol. i., p. 211.

[9] Roach Smith, Preface to Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 411.

[10] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., 1852, p. 203.—Dr. Lagneau, *Anthropologie de la France*, p. 752.

[11] *Crania Britannica.*

[12] *Historia Gothorum ab Hugone Grotio*, p. 10. Scriptor chorographici non editi: "Quam et Jordanes sapientissimus chosmographus Sanzan appellat: ex qua insula pariterque gentes occidentales egressæ sunt. Nam Gothos et Danos immo simul Gepidas ex ea antiquitus exiisse legimus."

of Edward the Confessor: *Guti similiter cum veniunt suscipi debent, et protegi in isto regno Britanniæ sicut conjurati fratres.*

THE SAXONS.

The names Saxones,[1] Σαξονες,[2] are used to designate a Germanic tribe which invaded Great Britain. The German *Sachs*, meaning a knife, dirk or generally a weapon, appears to be the root of the word Saxon.[3] A number of ancient writers have shown that the name of the Saxons was derived from that of the swords, daggers, etc., which they habitually carried, and which were called in German *Sachsen.* Tacitus does not mention the Saxons in his book on the customs of the Germans.[4] Ptolemy is the first to name them, and he places them at the entrance of Jutland, where Tacitus locates the Fosi. This title, which is perfectly applicable to the Saxons, for it expresses the same idea in another language, refers to the league of the five nations mentioned by Tacitus. The Cimbric word for the sword-dagger was *foss.* Tacitus, then, might well name Fosi those whom Ptolemy called Saxons, for the words *sachs* and *foss* are synonymous, though from two different languages; so that the two names have a common origin.[5] There seems to be no doubt of the correctness of the etymology.[6]

Ethnologists are in full agreement with the ideas thus suggested. The Saxon *Sachsen*, a name derived from the German word *Sachs*, may fairly recall the knife or dirk which they carried as early as the second century of our era.[7] Palgrave, it is true, does not absolutely accept the opinion of the historians whom we have quoted, but we find in him their views with certain slight modifications.[8] The Saxons differed very little from the Franks, their contemporaries, or from the other German nations. Like the latter, they were split up into small tribes, as a rule independent, but united in case of war in a federal league of no very

[1] Eutropius, Am. M.
[2] Ptolemy.
[3] Lagneau, *Anthropologie de la France.*
[4] *Crania Britannica*, chap. vi., p. 181.
[5] Duckett's Dictionary.
[6] "Ipse brevis gladius apud illos saxa vocatur,
Unde sibi saxo nomen peperisse notatur."
(Gotefridus Viterbiensis, part 15, p. 363.)
"Quippe brevis gladius apud illos saxa vocatur,
Unde sibi nomen saxo traxisse putatur."
(Engelhusius.)
[7] Lagneau, *Anthropologie de la France*, p. 752. Paris, 1879.
[8] Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, chap. ii.

stringent character.[1] However closely these authorities are examined, we find them in general agreement on certain fundamental points.

Seeing that the tribes which formed the league of nations known as the Saxons were settled to the south of the Cimbri, we must look for primitive Saxony in Holstein; Anglia, the territory of the Anglo-Saxons, situated between Flensburg and Schleswig, marks probably the limit of its extension northward.[2]

If the multitude of witnesses always contributed to make the verdict unassailable, nothing could be more firmly established than these facts. The Saxon nation properly so called, which inhabited the base of the Cimbric Chersonese, near the mouth of the Elbe, may have had the Angles for their neighbours on the opposite side of the peninsula, in the territory which now forms the Duchy of Schleswig.[3] As early as the second century of our era, the Saxons are mentioned by Ptolemy as inhabiting the neck, or narrow portion, of the Cimbric Chersonese, which is now known as Schleswig-Holstein.[4]

Baudot, in his interesting essays, naturally turned his attention to the Saxons, "a seafaring people," as he says, "who were given to piratical incursions on the shores of the Elbe, the North Sea and the Baltic."[5]

Their customs were analogous to those of the Barbarians who established themselves in Gaul at the time when the Saxons were settling in Great Britain. The Saxons are represented as forming part of the advanced-guard of those Gothic warriors who issued from the forests of the north.[6]

They had a reputation for unexampled bravery.[7] A poet has drawn a striking picture of their character, painting them as men of iron, fierce of nature and hard of heart.[8] Paul Orosius also depicts them in similar colours.[9] More civilised than the first inhabitants of Britain, it was above all in warlike exercises that they excelled, having learnt discipline from the Romans, whom they had often defeated in battle. The Saxons, a nation of warriors who cared nothing for death,[10] succeeded, after

[1] Henri Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. i., p. 414.

[2] Malte-Brun, *Géographie Universelle*, t. i., p. 211.

[3] D'Anville, *États formés en Europe après la Chute de l'Empire Romain*, p. 211.

[4] Lagneau, *Anthropologie*, p. 752.

[5] Baudot, *Sépultures Barbares de l'Epoque Mérovingienne*, p. 139.

[6] *Lettres Philosophiques et Politiques sur l'Histoire de l'Angleterre.* London and Paris, 1786, t. i., letter vi.

[7] Cluver, *Germania Antiqua*, p. 87.

[8] Henri Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. i., p. 116.

[9] *Pauli Orosii adversus Paganos Historiarum libri septem*, p. 642. Cologne, 1582.

[10] "Hostis est omni hoste truculentior. Improvisus aggreditur, prævisus elabitur, spernit objectos, sternit incautos; si sequatur, intercipit, si fugiat evadit. Ad hoc exercent illos, naufragia non terrent. Est eis quædam cum discriminibus pelagi non notitia solum, sed familiaritas" (Apollinaris Sidonius, *Epist.*, 8, 6).

two attempts, in establishing themselves in Great Britain in 477. Other dates have been named, but the discrepancies arise from the habit of certain historians of giving the generic title of Saxons to Jutes and Angles. As we have already said, they belonged to a league which included several neighbouring tribes on the borders of the Cimbric Chersonese.

When they made their first descent in Great Britain, the Saxon colonisation was of very little importance; indeed, some historians allege that the invaders only numbered eighteen hundred. After their first successes this small band was joined by some five thousand.[1] They first made good their footing, at a date which has not been definitely fixed, on the coast of Cantium or Kent, a country which had already suffered from determined hostile raids, and their landing was followed by a desperate struggle. The question whether these tribes were mercenaries, or simply invaders,[2] is one on which there is some difference of opinion.

Undoubtedly, however, the country was energetically defended by its inhabitants, and the Saxon colony had to suffer many serious reverses. The attitude adopted by the Saxons towards the Britons, is not made very clear in the historical documents; what is certain is that they were obeying the general impetus which drove the invading tribes to seek richer countries and more fertile soils.[3] Their final success was assured by the steady flow of reinforcements from their native country, and they were rapidly enabled to exercise a predominating influence, which increased as time went on.

The Saxons have left remarkable traces of their industrial art. Certain weapons and ornaments are attributable to their civilisation in particular. We will only say here, however, that archæologically, their existence is fully demonstrated, Saxon barrows being characterised by the presence of ornaments and other objects of a distinctive character.

The industrial types in favour with them were brought from their own country, though they were subject to the inevitable modifications produced by lapse of time. The Saxons also founded colonies in Gaul and in Lombardy.[4] The Lombards, in

[1] D'Anville, *États formés en Europe après la Chute de l'Empire Romain*, p. 201.

[2] "Tunc Anglorum sive Saxonum gens invitata a rege præfato Britanniam, tribus longis navibus advehitur, et in Orientali parte insulæ jubenti eodem rege, locum manendi, quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem verâ hanc expugnatura suscepit" (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. i., cap. xv).—*Lettres Philosophiques et Politiques sur l'Histoire de l'Angleterre*, t. i., letter vi.

[3] "Saxonum gens, sicut tradit antiquitas, ab Anglis Britanniæ incolis egressa, per Oceanum navigans, Germaniæ litoribus studio et necessitate quærendarum sedium appulsa est, in loco qui vocatur Hadulopha, eo tempore quo Thiotricus, rex Francorum, contra Irminfridum, generum suum, ducem Thuringorum, dimicans, terram eorum ferro vastavit et igni" (Trans. Sci. Alexandri, *Monumenta Germaniæ*, Pertz, ii., 574).

[4] Paul Diacre, bk. ii., chap. vi., and Gr. de Tours, *Hist. Ecclésiast. des Franks*, bk. iv., chap. xliii.

Germany, formed a part of the ancient league of the Suevi, and probably also of the more modern one of the Saxons.[1] It is hardly likely, however, that the Saxons in these different countries found conditions in all respects similar to those of the invaders of Great Britain; indeed, the variations due to differences of period and locality must necessarily have been considerable.

The name of Saxon, becoming more widely applied as time went on, was eventually given to several different tribes. Again, Saxon colonies might be attracted to different regions, and form settlements there, without introducing their civilisation in its fullest and purest form. The distinction made by history between the ancient Saxons and the emigrants is certainly based on solid grounds.[2]

Before their migration, the Saxons, as we have already remarked, formed with the Jutes and the Angles a confederation of a nature to suggest that these tribes had a common origin, or at least very intimate relations with each other. The different phases of the settlement of these invading hordes in Great Britain, and their eventual fusion, go far to prove the existence of those homogeneous elements which render amalgamation easy.[3] This rapid summary of the ethnographical data will certainly facilitate a correct understanding of the archæological remains which are attributed to them.

THE ANGLES.

The etymology of the name Angles—*Angli*, Ἀγγιλοι[4]—is apparently to be found in *Angul.*[5] The tribe of the Angles inhabited the southern extremity of Schleswig. They are placed by Tacitus and Ptolemy[6] among the Suevi of lower Saxony,[7] while in a passage of the *Orbis Gothicus* they are ranked with the Suevi.[8] The Angles then belonged to the ancient Suevic league, and probably also to the more recent league

[1] Comte Balbo, *Histoire d'Italie*, t. i., p. 127. Paris, 1860.

[2] Sir F. Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, chap. ii.

[3] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 23: "There is little doubt that the great divisions of the invaders we classify as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, were formed of many and varying tribes, who coalesced for the common purpose of conquest."

[4] Procopius.

[5] "Angul, a quo gentis Anglicæ principia manasse memoriæ proditum est, nomen suum provinciæ, cui præerat, aptandum curavit, levi monumenti genere perennem sui notitiam traditurus. Cujus successores postmodum Britanniâ potiti, priscum insulæ nomen novo patriæ suæ vocabulo permutarunt. . . . Testis est Beda" (*Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia a Saxone Grammatico*, 1514).

[6] *Dictionnaire de Géographie Ancienne.* Didot, 1871.

[7] "Interiores autem et mediterraneæ gentes, maxime sunt Suevi, Angli" (Ptolemy, *De German.*, lib. ii., cap. ii).

[8] Matthæi Prætorii, *Orbis Gothicus*, 1688, bk. i., chap. v.

of the Saxons.[1] Ethelwerd assigns the same territory to them,[2] as also does Cluver interpreting Ptolemy.[3] Further, Palgrave and Duckett assert that the Angles were neighbours of the Saxons and the Jutes, and inhabited Schleswig-Holstein.[4]

The Angles, though really under Saxon domination, yet gave their name to the nation. Their triumph in this respect appears largely due to the influence of Bede, the title of whose work, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, must have contributed to this result. By an edict of Egbert this was made the legal designation of the inhabitants of Britain.[5] The pioneers of the Angles made a descent upon Bernicia in 547, after which date the country previously occupied by them on the continent appears to have been entirely abandoned.[6]

Numerous cemeteries are assigned to the Angles.[7] There is thus evidence, and indeed complete proof, of their existence, from the point of view of archæology.

Later on, the amalgamation of the Angles with the Saxons, was largely instrumental in causing confusion between the handiwork of the two nations. It is difficult for a conquered tribe, downtrodden, and scattered amongst other victorious peoples, to leave any demonstrable proofs of its separate existence.

THE FRISIANS.

The Jutes, the Saxons and the Angles, were the tribes most conspicuously concerned in the invasion of Great Britain, but it must be admitted that among the invaders was a certain admixture of the Frisian element. Procopius, in fact, mentions the Frisians, Φρίσσονες, as among the peoples inhabiting Great Britain in the sixth century.[8] The Frisians came from a region situated on the coast between the Rhine and the Ems.[9] Mercia, which Bede declares to be an Anglian kingdom, is held by Pinkerton to have been Frisian.[10] There is no doubt that the Frissi were

[1] Comte Balbo, *Histoire d'Italie*, t. i., p. 127. Paris, 1860.

[2] "Est autem regio illa *Anglia vetus dicta, unde Angli venerunt in Britanniam*, inter Saxones et Giothos constituta" (Ethelwerdus).

[3] Cluver, *Germania Antiqua*, bk. iii., p. 105.

[4] Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, chap. ii.; Duckett's Dictionary, under article "Angles."

[5] "Egbertus coronatus rex totius Britanniæ apud Wentoniam faciens edictum, ut omnes Saxones *Angli* dicantur et Britannia *Anglia*" (Chronol. Augustinens. Cant. ap. Twysden, p. 2238).

[6] "Angli . . . quo post Taciti verum, sive sponte antiquis sedibus cedentes, sive ab finitimis pulsi transmigrarunt" (Bede, in *Historia Anglorum*).—"Angli de illâ patriâ quæ Angulus dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque manere deserta inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum perhibetur" (Philip. Cluverii, *Germania Antiqua*, lib. iii., p. 106).

[7] *Inventorium Sepulchrale.* Preface by Roach Smith.

[8] Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, t. iv., cap. xx.

[9] Ptolemy, t. ii., cap. x., p. 150.

[10] Pinkerton, *Recherches*, p. 322.

among the nations which conquered Great Britain, though Bede does not mention them. Indeed, the invading tribes seem to have come in great part from the country now known as Friesland. Of all the Continental dialects, ancient Frieslandish is the most closely allied to the language spoken by the first founders of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.[1]

These conclusions, now by no means new, are admitted by modern linguistic science. The great analogy existing between the Flemish, Frankish, Dutch, Frieslandish and Saxon dialects has apparently been recognised by M. L. Rodet,[2] M. de Coussemaker,[3] and other specialists.[4]

Frisian art has made no place for itself in archæology, for the small number of individuals who supplied the Frisian element among the invaders was rapidly absorbed by the more powerful tribes.

The confederated tribes which invaded Kent have left important traces of their national industries, enabling archæologists to follow them, with more or less certainty, to the countries in which they settled.

The barrows which have been explored are attributed, according to circumstances, now to one nation, now to another; but all the objects discovered in them are, in practice, included by English archæologists under the general description of Anglo-Saxon remains, a title which may be said to have its *raison d'être* in the edict of Egbert above referred to.

Speaking generally, the word Anglo-Saxon, as applied to the industries of the conquered districts, will suffice to indicate the art peculiar to a portion of England in the period following the invasion, but archæologically we have a right to ask for greater precision.

The Kentish explorations have formed the subject of publications of a most interesting character, but nearly all are of the nature of monographs. They deal, in fact, with a particular district, a single locality or a special subject, and give no general idea of the industrial arts of the Anglo-Saxons. The art which is characteristic of this people cannot indeed be considered the special creation of the invaders of England. We have no difficulty in discovering in it the distinguishing features which characterise the work of other nations of Scandinavia and neighbouring countries. In earlier days English savants considered themselves

[1] Palgrave, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, chap. ii.

[2] Léon Rodet, *Remarques sur quelques Dialectes parlés dans l'Europe Occidentale.* (*Annales du Comité Flamand*, t. v., p. 874, etc., 1859-70.)

[3] De Coussemaker, *Délimitation du Flamand et du Français; quelques Recherches sur le Dialecte flamand.—Revue de Bergues.* (*Annales du Comité Flamand de France*, t. iii., p. 394 *et seq.*, 1856-57; t. iv., p. 79, 1859; and t. v., p. 183, 1859-60, etc.)

[4] Dr. Lagneau, *Ethnogénie des Populations du Nord de la France*, p. 28. Paris, 1874.

entitled to treat the types of decoration as being of indigenous origin and essentially British, but this view has been stoutly opposed, one distinguished scientist declaring without hesitation that the Anglo-Saxon models are the common inheritance of all the Indo-Germanic peoples.[1]

THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The ethnographical data which we have collected in the foregoing pages will undoubtedly prove of great assistance in explaining the discoveries of archæology with regard to the Anglo-Saxon period. It may be useful, however, in addition to this general outline, to sketch the special characteristics of the Anglo-Saxons after their fusion and their final settlement in Kent.

The tribes of Barbarian origin which took possession of Kent came from the north. They had long occupied the Cimbric Chersonese and the neighbouring countries, and the league which they had formed is a matter of history. Though they bore different names, they had been united by treaty bonds long before the date of the invasions.[2] A period of development in Oriental countries had bound them together, and prepared them for the execution of their gigantic migrations. Asia, the cradle of most of these numerous tribes, had witnessed their departure for Europe, which they entered as nations apparently independent, but in reality closely allied. We may expect, therefore, to find among these peoples a common fund of manners, customs, and artistic traditions. These tribes, in the course of their migrations, occupied several countries, especially Scandinavia and Northern Germany, where they formed various confederations.[3]

Even when they were not bound by treaties, they at least maintained sufficiently intimate relations to perpetuate their family likeness, and reproduce the distinctive features of their ancestry.

Ample proof of this fact is found in the traces they have left behind them in their wanderings, and in the countries they have conquered. Everywhere we find the same characteristics of Teutonic civilisation asserting themselves. Yet this brotherhood of nations, united by joint colonisation, has not always succeeded in stamping its work with the characteristic marks of its birthplace.

Time has produced its inevitable effect: types have been modified by contact

[1] Eug. Müntz, *Études Iconographiques et Archéologiques*, 1re série, p. 135. Paris, 1887.
[2] *Crania Britannica*, chap. vi., p. 180 *et seq.*
[3] Des Michels, *Précis de l'Histoire du Moyen âge*, pp. 12, 14. Paris, 1846.

with other peoples, and much has been borrowed to increase artistic resources.[1] To give one example only, it is certain that Saxon art has been strengthened by purely internal and national development. In the face of powerful traditional influence, the goldsmith's work of the Anglo-Saxons has assumed forms entirely unknown in other regions occupied by the Barbarian nations. It is deeply penetrated by the influence of Scandinavia, and thus a new art has been developed which has necessarily been of a permanent character, artistic contact being aided by the constant flow of fresh immigrants, and by new maritime expeditions.

Cremation long remained a funeral rite among the Anglo-Saxons. It continued to be practised in Kent for a considerable period after it had fallen into disuse in other countries. It is precisely in cases of urn burial that objects betraying Scandinavian influence are most commonly found,—a fact the truth of which is fully admitted by the authors of *Crania Britannica.*

The perseverance of English archæologists has enabled them to distinguish the productions of the various tribal industries, and to assign them to their true sources. In this they have been greatly aided by historical documents and geographical data. Yet, without disparaging the all-important geographical investigations of d'Anville, it is to archæology that their success is chiefly due. It is by comparing the results of their researches that we have learnt the developments of Anglo-Saxon industrial art, and are enabled to recognise its productions with absolute certainty.[2] It has long been studied by English savants,[3] and has certainly not escaped the attention of the learned authors of the *Crania Britannica.* Some controversy also has arisen between the savants of England and the North as to the origin of this art, owing to the difficulty of attributing to British inspiration workmanship which recalls the typical forms of the Cimbric Chersonese.

However, be its origin what it may, it cannot be doubted that certain ornaments are of native manufacture. These objects show us to what perfection the goldsmith's art had been brought, even at this distant period, while later the Anglo-Saxons became celebrated throughout Europe for the beauty of their jewellery.[4]

[1] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 30: "The tribes, however, who came to our shores fresh from the sands of the Baltic and the wilds of Scandinavia, must have gazed with intense amazement on the first relics of Roman art and luxury, as on treasures now first presented to their gaze, creative of new images in minds not, even in barbarism, altogether insensible to poetry, or devoid of finer aspirations. That they would at once appreciate and preserve what they could not understand, is not to be supposed, . . . yet, doubtless, Roman elegance, manifested in the works of art, was not without its beneficial influence on the minds even of these barbarous Teutons."

[2] A. Geffroy, *Rome et les Barbares: Etude sur la Germanie de Tacite*, p. 2. Paris, 1874.

[3] Müntz, *Études Iconographiques et Archéologiques*, p. 135 *et seq.* Paris, 1887.

[4] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon*, p. 486.

Mr. Roach Smith has given expression to this view.[1] The Anglo-Saxons, he says, are represented as Barbarians who devastated all the cities they encountered with fire and sword. Yet we are surprised to find that they have left works of art made with such taste and skill as to show a profound knowledge of several arts and various methods of manufacture. We are struck by the elegance of design of their fibulæ, the harmony of their colours, and the excellence of their workmanship. Even the modern jeweller is obliged to recognise their beauty and to admit that they rival the jewels of our own time.

Traces of this industry have been found in the cradle of the Saxon race. M. Hildebrand notes the fact in his book *Das heidnische Zeitalter in Schweden.* Nadus also speaks of it in his voluminous work; and Mdlle. Mestorf, in her compilation *Vorgeschichtliche Alterthumer aus Schleswig-Holstein*, gives the result of the excavations in the Borgsted cemetery. The graves contained pottery and fibulæ similar to those found in England, and considered to be typical Anglo-Saxon or Saxon forms.

The existence of a special Anglo-Saxon art has thus obtained full scientific recognition.

The archæological facts with which we shall now proceed to deal may help to bring it into greater prominence.

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xx.

ANGLO-SAXON ARMS.

THE Saxons were conspicuous among the barbarian nations for their bravery in battle; and history provides ample proof of their love of arms. We shall therefore assign to these highly prized weapons the rank which they held in the interior economy of the Saxon tribes. The soldier who had wielded them in life desired to bear them even to the grave.

THE SWORD.

The part played by the sword amongst the tribes generally who invaded the empire has been clearly described by archæologists. We need not therefore enter into details here, but can confine ourselves to those specific points which bear on its use with the Anglo-Saxons. The Anglo-Saxon sword has been the subject of special study at the hands of the English savants, from the point of view alike of history and archæology.

The spear, the ordinary national weapon, has frequently been found; the sword, on the contrary, is much more rare.[1] The number of swords discovered bears a very small proportion to that of the graves explored, and the sword is seldom mentioned in the Capitularies—another proof of its rarity. Only individuals belonging to the upper classes were buried with this weapon,[2] and it is quite possible also that handsome and valuable swords were preserved as family treasures, and left to heirs or to friends.[3] Æthelstan (Etheling), in his will, bequeaths several richly ornamented swords. One of these, with a hilt of silver, a belt and gold buckle, was left to his brother Edward, as was another, also with a silver hilt, which had belonged to Ulfcytel. He also left as legacies a sword

[1] Yonge Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 48. London, 1853.—Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 80.

[2] Yonge Akerman, *Remains, etc.*, p. 49: "The swords found in Anglo-Saxon graves . . . clearly evidence that the defunct, when living, was either wealthy or had attained to a certain dignity."

[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*

of King Offa,[1] and another which was conspicuous for its stippled hilt. Under the same will Earic, son of Wynflede, received a sword stamped with the representation of a hand. Ætheric[2] again bequeathed his sword and baldric, and Wulfric[3] left in his will two silver-hilted swords.[4]

Kemble says that only those dignitaries who ranked above the royal vassals enjoyed the privilege of wearing the sword—a fact which is clearly established by the text of the Anglo-Saxon law regarding *heriots*. After the death of a soldier, his arms, according to the provisions of this law, were to be returned to the king, who was considered, in theory, to have lent them to his tenants and his vassals. The arms (*heriots*), in conformity with a principle of Teutonic law, were such as of right appertained to the rank of the deceased, and a strict observance of the law required that the arms to be returned were those which he had been entitled to bear during life.

The most circumstantial details as to the arms to be returned to the king are found in the law of Canute, who fixed the payments for the several classes as follows:—

Class I.—Princes of the blood, archbishops and counts, and the higher nobility: eight horses, four of them with saddles, four helmets, four coats of mail, eight spears, eight shields, four swords, and two hundred gold *mancuses*.

Class II.—The *thanes*, or tributary chieftains of the highest rank, in the king's train, the nobles and members of his court: four horses, two swords, four spears, four shields, a helmet, a coat of mail, and fifty gold *mancuses*.

Class III.—The lesser nobility: a horse with trappings and arms, or instead thereof a sum of money.

It is quite plain that those who were not noble were not obliged to return a sword, for it was not worn by men of their class, but all those who bore the sword were bound to return horses.[5]

The two-edged sword was too heavy to be wielded by a dismounted man; it was therefore the special appanage of the horseman. In fact, we have every reason to believe that the warriors who carried this weapon were knights, *thanes*, or, at least, persons of superior rank.

The Capitularies of Charlemagne prove clearly that the Franks were armed

[1] Was this the Hunnish sword sent by Charlemagne as a present to Offa? "Vestræ quoque dilectioni unum balteum et unum gladium Huniscum, et duo pallia Serica" (*Epistola ad Offam, Regem Merciorum: Corpus Juris Germanici Antiqui*, p. 125, edition Walter, vol. ii).

[2] A.D. 997.

[3] A.D. 1002.

[4] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom.*

[5] Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, pp. 83, 84.

much in the same fashion as the Saxons. Their ordinary arms were spear and shield, horsemen only bearing the sword.[1]

Every one who is accustomed to the use of arms will admit the impossibility of a foot-soldier wielding these awkward blades. These ill-forged swords were of little service except for striking; their badly formed edges could not be used to much advantage. According to Kemble, only persons of a certain rank enjoyed the privilege of wearing the sword. The obligation to serve on horseback imposed on the proprietor of a certain amount of landed property the further necessity of providing the arms appropriate to cavalry service. Thus the graves in which large swords are found must be assigned to men of noble rank, while those from which they are absent belong to the *ceorlas*, the countrymen, and small freeholders who formed the rank and file of the Saxon armies.[2]

A monument which has been preserved at Mayence bears the figure of a Roman auxiliary horseman, armed with a sword similar in all respects to those of the Anglo-Saxons. This sword is suspended from the breast of the horseman, and hangs by his side. He is represented as slaying a fallen enemy by a spear-thrust. Behind the horse stands a foot-soldier, carrying two long spears of the same form as that borne by the horseman.

This monument dates back to the middle of the third century. It can easily be shown by other examples that the long iron sword, or *spatha*, was in general use amongst the auxiliaries, and the Romans themselves, especially in the period immediately preceding the fall of the Empire.[3]

The Anglo-Saxon sword is essentially of Teutonic type; it appears to have been in use from a very early date, and to have lasted for a long period. It has been found in the Saxon barrows in various parts of England, in the tombs of the Livonians, the Burgundians, and the Franks. The Scandinavian sword also is of similar character, but heavier and longer. The Anglo-Saxon sword answers to the description given by Plutarch in his life of Marius of the weapon of the Cimbri,[4] and it further resembles the Suevic swords brought to Italy by Pope Leo IX in 1053.[5]

[1] The *Encyclic. Capit.*, 806 (Pertz, iii., 145): "Ita vero preparatus cum hominibus tuis ad predictum locum venies, ut inde in quamcumque partem nostra fuerit jussio, et exercitaliter ire possis; id est, cum armis atque utensilibus, necnon et cetero instrumento bellico, in victualibus et vestimentis, ita ut unusquisque caballarius habeat scutum et lanceam, et spatam et semispatam," etc.

[2] Teutonic Swords, *Horæ Ferales*, description of pl. xxvi.

[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. London, 1856.

[4] Μεγάλαις ἐχρῶντο καὶ βαρείαις μαχαίραις.

[5] "Hæc gens animosa feroces fert animos; sed equos adeò non ducere cauta. Ictibus illorum, quam lancea, plus valet ensis, nam nec equus doctè manibus giratur eorum; nec validos ictus dat lancea; præminet ensis; sunt enim longi specialiter et peracuti illorum gladii; percussum a vertice corpus scindere scepe solent; et firmo stant pede postquam deponuntur equis, potius certanda perire quàm dare terga volunt; magis hoc sunt marte timendi, quam dum sunt equites; tanta est audacia gentis."

Many centuries earlier Tacitus wrote that the Germani rarely used the sword; the phrase *rari gladiis utuntur* has often been quoted by those archæologists who have studied the Barbarian epoch. The sword blades from Kent are usually of identical length, about seventy-eight centimetres.[1] The swords found at Ozingell (Kent), in the Isle of Wight, at Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire), and other places, are about the same size,—near the hilt the blade is about seven centimetres wide, and narrows gradually towards the point.[2] The hilts of Anglo-Saxon swords, which have generally no pommel, end in a small cross piece, to which was fixed the wood which completed the hilt. The specimens discovered by Mr. Hillier[3] answer to the above description, and represent the ordinary type of Anglo-Saxon sword.

The point of the sword is often hidden from view[4] owing to the bronze at the extremity of the scabbard being rusted on to it. It must not, however, be taken for granted that these peculiarities are always met with, for a few swords provided with pommels have been found in some of the Kentish barrows.[5] We must, however, remark that richly decorated sword-hilts are still rarer.[6]

Mr. Kemble, in estimating the usual size of the swords, gives them an extreme length, from pommel to point, of ninety centimetres. The sword-guard is often missing, but the remains of hilts in ivory, bone, or some other perishable material, are frequently discovered.[7] The scabbard was of wood, covered with leather, sometimes with ornamentation in bronze. An interesting account of these ancient scabbards is given by the Monk of St. Gall in his description of the costume of the Franks.[8]

Among the rare swords which are rendered exceptionally remarkable by their artistically ornamented hilts, we must mention those coming from Gilton, near Sandwich,[9] and from Coombe[10] (fig. 1). This interesting specimen was found in

[1] Throughout this work I have retained the metrical dimensions given by the author, as being more accurate than English measures, and thoroughly familiar to all students of these subjects.—*Tr.*

[2] The blunt points of these long blades were of little avail for thrusting. This is pointed out by Apollinaris Sidonius in his account of a victory of the Franks over the Goths: "Alii hebetatorum cæde gladiorum latera dentata pernumerunt. Alii cæsim atque punctius foraminatos circulos loricarum metiuntur" (Lib. ii., ep. 3).

[3] *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, pl. i.

[4] *Fairford Graves*, pl. iii., and *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. xxxiv.

[5] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xiv., fig. 6.

[6] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*

[7] *Horæ Ferales*, description of pl. xxvi.

[8] "Post hæc baltheus spatæ colligatus. Quæ spata primo vagina fagea, secundo corio qualunque, tertio lineamine candidissimo cerâ lucidissima roborato, ita cingebatur" (*De Reb. Gest. Caroli M.*, lib. i., cap. 36).

[9] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, plate xxiv., fig. 2: London, 1853.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxx., p. 132.

[10] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., p. 164.—Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, 1880, p. 220.

a grave, together with another sword, the two being wrapped in the same piece of stuff. The same barrow contained a copper basin, filled with burnt human bones, a spear-head, some glass and amber beads, and part of a jewelled ornament, set with garnets or coloured glass.[1]

The weapon, the hilt of which is here represented, measures about ninety centimetres in length; the blade is rather more than seventy-eight centimetres long, and seven centimetres wide near the hilt.

Portions of the wooden scabbard are still adhering to it. The hilt has been so

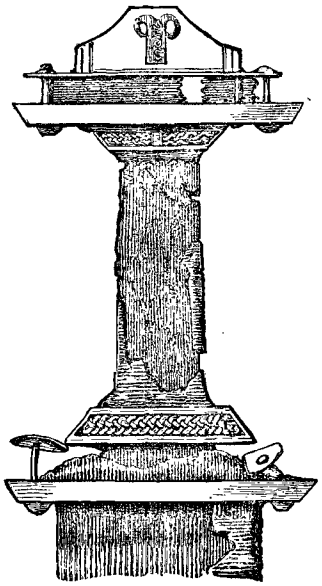

FIG. 1. SWORD-HILT FROM COOMBE, KENT.

fashioned as to allow of its being firmly gripped. Each end of it is furnished with a band of bronze, with plaited decoration.

The most ancient mention of Anglo-Saxon swords is a reference, in a celebrated poem, to the ornamentation of hilts and scabbards.[2]

[1] *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute*, vol. i., p. 27.

[2] "When he did off from himself
His iron coat of mail,
The helmet from his head,
Grave his ornamented sword,
The costliest of steels."
(*Beowulf*, line 1346.)

"And the hilt also,
With treasure variegated."
(*Beowulf*, line 3228.)

Mr. Rolfe's collection contains a sword-hilt bearing an inscription in Runic characters—an interesting piece, which was found in the parish of Ash, near Sandwich.[1] Mention is made in *Beowulf* of swords ornamented with Runic characters and interlaced serpents.[2]

Some time back a very remarkable sword, richly decorated, was found at Reading. We consider the hilt worthy of reproduction here, as a typical specimen of Anglo-Saxon art (fig. 2).

The pommel and guard are in white metal, resembling an alloy of pale copper and silver. The guard is ornamented with rudely sculptured figures of men and animals. This weapon, when discovered, was lying beneath the skeleton of a horse, and the blade was bent from the pressure of the animal's ribs. Only the metal portion of the sword still exists, the ivory fittings having, almost immediately after its discovery, fallen into dust. The human bones and the horse's skeleton were well preserved.[3]

The scarcity of swords in Anglo-Saxon barrows finds a parallel in the results of explorations in Germany. The cemeteries of Selzen and Sinzheim have yielded very few swords in proportion to the number of burials. At Sinzheim some eighty graves yielded four swords; forty graves at Oberflacht furnished eight swords; and excavations in the north of Germany have given approximately the same results. Spears, on the contrary, are more numerous. Kemble, from a group of six hundred graves at Lüneburg, though several spears were discovered, did not exhume a single sword; and Count Münster, in his explorations on the banks of the Weser, obtained similar results. Baron Estorff has also recorded the rarity of the sword, while the same conclusions have been deduced from excavations in Livonia and other countries.

[1] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxiv., fig. 3.

[2] "He gazed upon the hilt,
The old legacy
On which was written the origin
Of the ancient contest.
So was on the surface
Of the bright gold
In Runic letters,
Rightly marked,
Set and said,
For whom that sword,
The choicest of irons,
Was first made
With twisted hilt and serpentine."
(*Beowulf*, line 3373.)

[3] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, vol. iii., no. vii., p. 467.

We have already referred to the very small proportion of swords found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and the following figures will serve to confirm our statement.

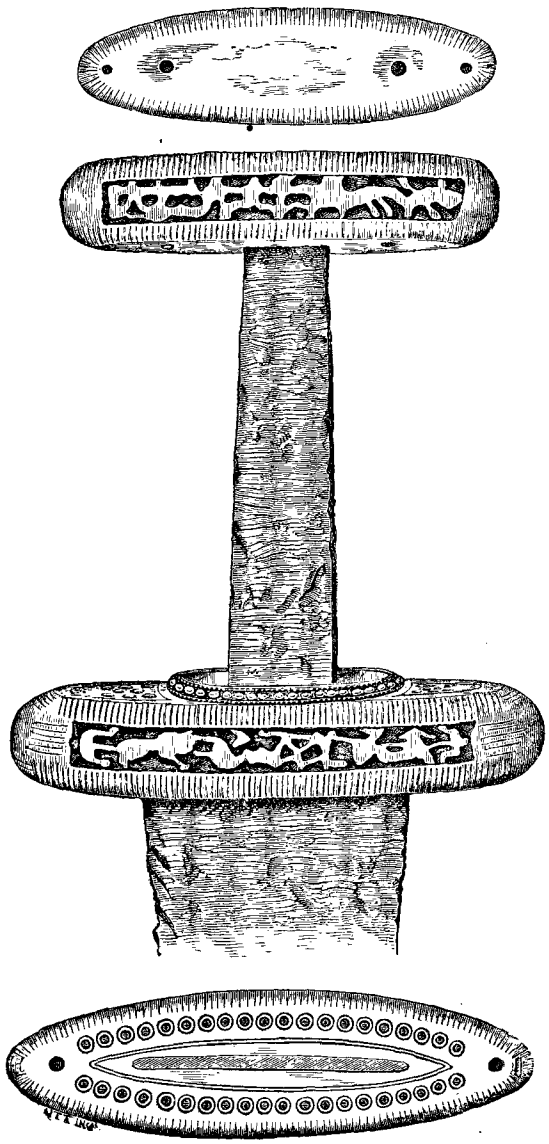

FIG. 2. SWORD-HILT FROM READING, BERKS.

At Little Wilbraham from one hundred and eighty-eight graves only four swords were taken.[1] The cemetery of Faversham,[2] Kent, furnished about twenty

[1] *Saxon Obsequies.*

[2] C. Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities discovered at Faversham, in Kent, and bequeathed by W. Gibbs to the South Kensington Museum.* London, 1873.

swords, now in the South Kensington Museum, and the collection of Humphrey Wood of Chatham. The two hundred and seventy-two graves examined by Mr. Brent at Sarre yielded twenty-six swords, a relatively large number. Bryan Faussett gives sixteen only as the result of the exploration of eight hundred and three graves.[1]

In the cemetery of Ozingell, near Sarre, in the Isle of Thanet, a larger number were found; but, on the other hand, Mr. Akerman examined seventy graves in the cemetery of Harnham Hill, near Salisbury,[2] without discovering a single specimen.

THE SPEAR.

When the Barbarian conquerors first stepped on the stage of the world's history they appeared armed with the formidable spear. Our imagination, influenced by legendary tales, always pictures these invaders of the Roman Empire brandishing the menacing spear with which they were identified; while the teachings of history have, in this instance, been enforced and popularised by the fine arts. The young freeman, in accordance with the custom of the Barbarian nations, received the spear, or "framea," as soon as he was of an age to bear arms. This practice, which was common to all the Teutonic tribes, was maintained by the Saxons, whose national arms were the spear and the javelin.[3] These customs explain the frequent recurrence of the spear, of different forms and dimensions,[4] in Anglo-Saxon barrows. The types discovered in the Germanic cemeteries throughout Europe reappear almost without exception in England.

Spears, the use of which was so universal, may be divided into two classes, differing in the mode of manufacture—those, namely, with cylindrical sockets, and those in which the socket is slit on one side. Anglo-Saxon spears belong to the second class, the socket, throughout its length, being open on one side, leaving the shaft exposed to view. This peculiarity enables us easily to distinguish the Anglo-Saxon spear from that of the Danes, which also is foundin England.

In France and Germany it is the second type of spear-head which is most common, but in the Lombard cemetery of Testona, and in the specimens pre-

[1] *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*—Gilton, 106 graves, 7 swords; Kingston Down, 308 graves, 1 sword; Sibertswold, 181 graves, 7 swords.

[2] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 49. London, 1853.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 48.

[4] Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, pl. xxvii., p. 86.—Roach Smith, Introduction to Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxxvii.

served in the Brera Museum at Milan, the sockets are, without exception, round. The different methods adopted by the armourers of the Lombards and the Saxons have survived the close relationship existing between these tribes. Spears are occasionally found the sockets of which are bound round with strong rings, with a view of giving additional solidity to the shaft. Several pieces from the cemetery of Ozingell are provided with these rings,[1] and sockets of a similar character have been found in the graves of Nydam, in the Schleswig marshes.[2]

Spears and javelins are often included under the same denomination, their use having been in many cases identical. It is therefore impossible to treat of them under separate headings. It is frequently very difficult to distinguish a small spear from a large javelin, and a similar difficulty arises in dealing with a certain type of arrow and the smaller javelins.[3] In the latter case, however, there was no error in classing them together, the so-called arrows being in reality genuine javelins.

Several archæologists have made a special study of spear-heads coming from various localities. Mr. Akerman has examined the spears from Driffield (pl. i., fig. 5) and Harnham (pl. i., figs. 4 and 6). He records their large size and their resemblance, in the length of the blade, to similar weapons coming from other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Mr. Wylie, among the specimens found at Fairford, notices one of exceptional size, and another which resembles the bayonet in form.

The excavations at Barrington (Cambridgeshire) provided Mr. Foster with fifteen specimens.[4] Faussett found thirty-five spears in the three cemeteries of Gilton, Kingston Down, and Sibertswold.[5] Neville gives the number of these weapons unearthed at Little Wilbraham as thirty-five;[6] while Mr. Roach Smith calculates that forty-five were taken from the barrows of Faversham.[7] These latter cemeteries are thus remarkable for the number of spears they yielded.

Spear-shafts were, as a rule, shod with iron ferules,[8] by means of which they could be planted obliquely in the ground to serve as a line of defence, and to aid in repelling a charge of cavalry. The presence of this iron foot enables Mr.

[1] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii., fig. 20.

[2] Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, pl. xi. Nydam, fig. 39.

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 20. London, 1853.

[4] *Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington*, p. 12. Cambridge, 1883.

[5] Bryan Faussett, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 83.

[6] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 8, and pls. xxxv. and xxxvi. London, 1852.

[7] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities discovered at Faversham, Kent*, pl. xi. London, 1873.

[8] Akerman, in his *Remains of Pagan Saxondom* (Introduction, p. ix., pl. ix., fig. 3), and Mr. Wylie in *Fairford Graves* (pl. xi., fig. 8), have given illustrations of spear-ends. Mr. Roach Smith also refers to them in his *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum.*

Akerman to measure the ordinary length of the spear, which he puts at 1 metre 80 centimetres.

Kemble is of opinion that the spear-head varied in length from 12 to 90 centimetres. In one case the position of the shaft in the grave has been determined by the presence of a line of decayed wood, with an iron ferule. This spear was 1 metre 40 centimetres in length. The length of the spear-heads examined by Mr. Wright is given by him as being from 30 to 45 centimetres.[1]

The distinctive feature of the Anglo-Saxon spear is a rather short socket. Three centimetres from the socket the spear-head takes a slight bend outward, then widens considerably (as in fig. 3, pl. i.), and finally diminishes gradually to form the point. This type of spear is peculiar to England,[2] and appears to have been adopted as well for the larger as for those of small dimensions. The smaller heads were probably those of the *framea*[3] or javelin.

We must also notice, in addition to the spears above mentioned, a missile weapon, the two blades of which were not in the same plane.[4] We reproduce two specimens (pl. i., figs. 4 and 6) giving the horizontal section. The unequal surfaces recall the Hottentot assegai and certain weapons still in use in the East Indies, and this similarity has not escaped the attention of English archæologists.[5] This arrangement of the blades imparted to the weapon in its flight a rotary motion of increasing velocity.[6] Missiles of this character are only met with in Anglo-Saxon graves, but a somewhat similar idea is occasionally revealed on the Continent. Thus a spear was found at Homblières (Aisne),[7] the blades of which start from different points of the central shaft. By the kindness of M. Pilloy we are enabled to give an illustration of it (fig. 3).

This form is different from the Anglo-Saxon type, but the section shows that the weapon was intended to assume a rotary motion in its flight.

English savants have, in the past, aided considerably in dispelling the erroneous notions current with regard to barbed lances, which for a considerable period were looked upon as angons.[8] These spears, which were intended to catch the shield, could not possibly be used as missile weapons, and, further, they are very rarely found in Barbarian cemeteries. Lindenschmit, indeed, hesitates to enumerate them

[1] Th. Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 474.

[2] There is, however, a specimen from the cemetery of Furfooz, now in the Museum at Namur (Belgium), which has some analogy with the type in question.

[3] The English verb to *frame*, or forge, is connected with the word *framea*.

[4] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Introduction.

[5] Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 87.

[6] "Sed illam (hastam) turbine terribilem tanto et stridore volantem" (*The Waltharliede*, v., 1289).

[7] Pilloy, *Etudes sur d'Anciens Lieux de Sépultures dans l'Aisne*, p. 232.

[8] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv.

as a distinct type, though he mentions a few specimens as having been found in Germany.[1] They are, in fact, widely distributed. M. Calandra has described those of Testona[2] (Italy), M. Namur those of Luxemburg.[3]

M. Baudot mentions their existence in Burgundy,[4] and M. de Bonstetten in Switzerland,[5] while the Abbé Cochet has met with them in Normandy.[6] In Belgium several examples are preserved in the museums of Charleroi and Namur.

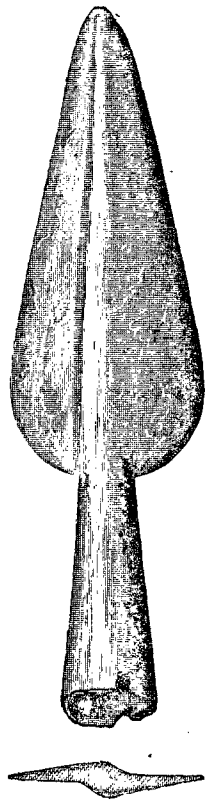

FIG. 3. SPEAR-HEAD FROM HOMBLIÈRES (AISNE).

Lastly, Champagne, especially the cemetery of Oyes, has furnished us with specimens of this rare weapon.[7]

[1] Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der deutschen Alterthumskunde,* p. 176.—Mayence Museum. Bessungen graves, Darmstadt Museum.

[2] Calandra, *Di una Necropoli barbarica scoperta a Testona.* From the proceedings of the *Societa d'Archæologia e belle arti.*, vol. iv. Turin.

[3] Publications of *Société Archéologique de Luxembourg.*

[4] *Mémoire sur les Sépultures Barbares de l'Époque Mérovingienne et Principalement celles de Charnay*

[5] *Recueil d'Antiquités Suisses*, pl. xxiii.

[6] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 236. Rouen, 1854.

[7] Musée de Baye.

English archæologists are of opinion that the barbed spear is probably the *lancea uncata* mentioned by Apollinaris Sidonius in his letter to Domitius.[1] *Lancea uncata* has been rendered by a translator as *pique à crochets*[2] (barbed pike).

Uvolfgangus Lazius, a writer of the sixteenth century, asserts that this weapon was exclusively confined to the Goths[3]—a fact which would fairly explain its absence from Anglo-Saxon graves.

England has furnished us with a few examples of spears with a projection on each side at the head of the socket (pl. i., fig. 2).

The specimen there illustrated is from Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire.[4] Two

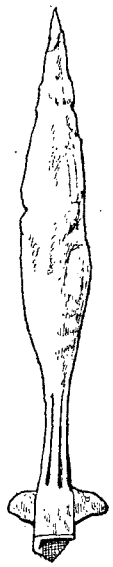

FIG. 4. SPEAR-HEAD FROM IMMENSTEDT (SCHLESWIG).

other specimens found in London and at Nottingham have been reproduced in *Horæ Ferales*, and Mdlle. Mestorf has discovered similar spears at Immenstedt, Schleswig.[5]

The spear was the national weapon of the Anglo-Saxons, among other evidence

[1] "Eo quo comebantur ornatu, muniebantur, lanceis uncatis securibus missilibus dextræ refertæ, clypeis leavam partem adumbrantibus, quorum lux in orbibus nivea, fulva in umbonibus, ita censum prodebat ut studium" (Apollinaris Sidonius, bk. iv., letter 20).

[2] Apollinaris Sidonius, translated by Grégoire Collombet, 1836.

[3] *De aliquot Gentium Migrationibus*, auctore Uvolfgango Lazio. Basle, 1572.—*Hastæ uncatæ Gothorum*, p. 681.

[4] *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1882, p. 276.

[5] Mestorf, *Mittheilungen des Anthropologischen Vereins in Schleswig-Holstein.* Ausgrabungen bei Immenstedt, fig. 2. Kiel, 1888.

of which is the custom of calling the man the *spear-half*, while the woman was called the *spindle-half*.[1] In the laws of Edward the Confessor the word *spear* is used as an equivalent of *man*.[2]

So many spears have been found in England, that Mr. Roach Smith has no hesitation in asserting that one was buried with every freeman.[3] It was exclusively the weapon of the freeman, the serf being forbidden to carry it.[4]

THE ANGON

When the earliest works on the archæology of the Anglo-Saxon period were published the angon was unknown in England, and a very confused impression prevailed concerning it. The absence of the weapon itself led to many erroneous conjectures as to the interpretation of passages where it is mentioned. The influence of English archæologists, however, has been of great value in the settlement of the vexed question of the angon.

They discarded all the weapons inaccurately described by that name, acting on the belief that it was the annalists of the Franco-Merovingian period who could throw most light on the interpretation of their national antiquities. The word angon is connected with the German *angel*, a hook, or barb. The angon of the Franks had two barbs; it is therefore probable that these words, angon and angel, are derived from the same root.[5] The word for the angon in different languages always suggests the same idea; in German and Flemish *hangen*, in English *hang*, in Swedish *hænga*.

The description of the angon given by Agathias[6] has been the starting-point for much patient and useful research; there are, however, other ancient writings in which mention is made of it. Thus Suidas[7] speaks of this weapon, though the passage is less familiar, and Pachymeres[8] (quoted by Ducange) contains references to it which are worthy of being noted.

[1] *Will of Alfred the Great.—Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, vol. ii., p. 116.

[2] *Leges Regis Edward. Confess.—Ancient Laws and Institutions of England.* Thorpe, vol. i., p. 447.

[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*

[4] "Et ut servi lanceas non portent. Qui inventus fuerit post bannum, hasta frangatur in dorso ejus" (*Capit.*, lib. vi.—*Corpus juris German. Antiq.* Walter's Edition).

[5] Littré, *Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*, 1873.

[6] "Brevia tela quæ ipsi angones vocant; cujus pars major ferro obducta est, ita ut ex ligno aliquid præter membrorum vix extet: in superiori ferro tanquam hami utrinque sunt, et deorsum vergunt" (Agathias, bk. i.).

[7] Ἄγγονες ἐπιχώρια δόρατα παρὰ φράγγοις (Suidas, bk. xvii., cap. 8).

[8] Ἰταλίκοις τόξοις καθοπλισμένοι, αὐτοίμεν πέλτων, καὶ παλτῶν ἐπιχωρίων δοράτων, ἃ δὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀγγώνες ἐκαλοῦντο, τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεθαρροῦν (Pachymeres, lib. xii., cap. 30).

Archæological discoveries have now confirmed the correctness of the information given by the Greek writers of the later Empire.

The barbed spear, *lancea uncata*, of Apollinaris Sidonius was, when first discovered, mistaken for the angon.[1] The discovery of this error is due to English archæologists, and especially to Mr. Wylie. The angon is now perfectly familiar and it is useless, therefore, to enumerate the specimens which have been found in Germany,[2] France,[3] and Belgium.[4] It must be mentioned, however, that in all these countries the angon is extremely rare. Roach Smith considers that the information obtained with regard to this weapon tends to prove that its use among the German Barbarians was confined to the period between the fourth and eighth centuries.[5] Mr. Akerman, in an interesting article, drew attention to the angons found on the Continent, this weapon being then unknown in Great Britain. Later, in 1861, Roach Smith made known to English archæologists the angon found at Cavoran (pl. i., fig. 7), on the line of the Roman wall,[6] describing it, however, simply as a javelin. This specimen is very like that from Strood (pl. i., fig. 1), brought into notice by Dr. Bruce. Both these angons are from Kent.

The angons in the museums of Mayence, Wiesbaden, and Darmstadt are much longer than those found in England;[7] but it must be mentioned that these latter have not preserved their original dimensions, being in a very bad state of preservation. From whatever source they come, there is never any question as to the unity of type in these weapons; while, on the other hand, they differ so decisively from the spear and the javelin, that they cannot be mistaken for any other than the arm described by Agathias.[8]

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., p. 54, 1853.

[2] Lindenschmit, *Die alterthümer unserer heidnischen vorzeit*, 1881, dritter band, Neuntes Heft, Taf. v. (*Handbuch der deutschen alterthumskunde*).

[3] Abbé Cochet, *Sépultures gauloises, romaines et franques*, p. 215, 1857.—H. Baudot, *Mémoire sur les sépultures barbares de l'époque mérovingienne, et principalement celles de Charnay*, p. 150.—F. Moreau, Collection Caranda. *Sépultures d'Arcy Sainte Restitue* (*Aisne*), pl. M.—J. de Baye, *Sépultures Franques de Joches* (Marne), p. 7, 1880.

[4] Namur Museum, *Mémoires imprimés en vue du Congrès d'Archéologie de Charleroi*, 2nd pamphlet, p. 235, 1888.—Baron A. de Loë, *Découverte d'Antiquités franques à Harmignies*, p. 7. Antwerp, 1886.

[5] *Revue Archéologique*, t. xi., p. 84, 1865.

[6] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v., p. 13, 1861.

[7] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., pl. vii.

[8] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v., p. 15.

THE SCRAMASAXE.

The iron knife, *sachs*, *seax*, or scramasaxe, seems, as we stated in our sketch of the origin of the Saxons, to have given its name to the nation.[1]

We have the testimony of several historians, that the scramasaxe was a weapon of war among the Saxons;[2] yet while small knives abound in Anglo-Saxon graves, the large knives, or scramasaxes, are especially rare.[3] Some English authors, misled by the constant presence of the small knife, have thought that this was the true *seax* of the Saxons; but, according to the received idea, the *seax* was a weapon only smaller than the sword.[4]

Mr. Roach Smith, referring to these weapons, which he calls sword-knives, considers these *cultri validi* to be identical with the scramasaxes mentioned by Gregory of Tours.[5] The description given by this historian is quite applicable to the large knives, which are much more common in France, Belgium and Germany

FIG. 5. BEAKESBOURNE, KENT.

than in England.[6] Widukind says that these large knives were included in the ancient Saxon armoury.[7]

The best preserved specimens have two long narrow grooves along the back of the blade.

These war knives, or *seax*, are often referred to in the poem of Beowulf. Thus the mother of the demon Grendal in her struggle with Beowulf is represented as

[1] Ducange, *Glossarium*, article "Saxa."

[2] "Mutato denique nomine quæ ad id tempus Turingia, ex longis cultellis, sed victoriosis, postmodum vocata est non Saxonia sed Anglico elemento Saxonia" *Contennator Florentii Wigorniensis*, Anno 1138).

[3] The men's graves, almost without exception, contained a small knife (*Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 21. London, 1853).

[4] A hand-seax is mentioned in the will of Ælfheah (*Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. iii., p. 127).

[5] *Histoire des Francs*, bk. iv., chap. 46, and bk. viii., chap. 29.

[6] Yonge Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 21.—Roach Smith, *Introduction to Inventorium Sepulchrale.—Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii.—*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, vol. x., No. 1, 1883.

[7] "Erat autem illis diebus Saxonibus magnorum cutellorum usus, quibus usque hodie Angli utuntur morem gentis antiquæ sectantes" (Widukind, bk. i., chap. vi.).

drawing her *seax*,[1] and Beowulf himself, when his sword was broken, turned to the *seax* which was attached to his coat of mail.[2]

According to Nenius, it was with the scramasaxe that the Saxons were armed when, at the famous feast of reconciliation, the signal was given by Hengist for the massacre of the Britons: *Nimed eure Saxes.*

The *sexaudrus* of the Salic laws appears to have been a small knife similar to those frequently found in Anglo-Saxon graves (fig. 5). These laws enacted that whosoever stole a knife should return it to his owner, and pay in addition fifteen *solidi*.[3]

Kemble states that the large knives are generally found in the graves of men only; while the smaller ones, on the contrary, are found with the remains of men, women, and children alike, in almost every barrow.[4]

The excavations of Faussett in one hundred and six graves at Gilton produced a hundred and twenty-nine knives; three hundred and eight graves at Kingston Down contained two hundred and twenty-two knives, while about one hundred and eleven came from the hundred and eighty barrows opened at Sibertswold.

Mr. Neville, in his work on the cemetery of Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire), remarks that knives were found together with spears in nearly all the graves. In one exceptional case two knives enclosed in an urn were found. As a rule these blades were placed somewhere near the hips.[5]

Anglo-Saxon scramasaxes were occasionally ornamented. The Rev. Mr. Beck describes one, ninety centimetres long, found at Little Bealings in Suffolk,[6] which is decorated with a band of damascened work throughout its length. Among the scramasaxes found in the Thames, the most interesting is one which is ornamented with a runic alphabet, and bears the name of the soldier to whom it belonged, in similar characters. The letters are inlaid in copper and silver.[7]

[1] "She beset them the hal-guest,
And drew her seax
Broad, brown-edged."
(*Beowulf*, line 3089.)

[2] "Drew his deadly seax
Bitter and battle-sharp,
That he on his byrnie bore."
(*Beowulf*, line 5400.)

[3] *De cultello sexaudro.* "Si quis alteri cultellum furaverit et ei fuerit adprobatum, ipsum in loco restituit, et insuper DC den. qui faciunt sol. xv. culp. judicetur" (*Legis Salicæ*, tit. lxxiii. 1).

[4] *Horæ Ferales*, p. 81.

[5] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 9. London, 1852.

[6] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, vol. x., No. 1, 1883.

[7] *Ibidem.*

Inscriptions on scramasaxes are extremely rare, but in the Frankish cemetery of Pondrome, Belgium, one of these weapons was found which bore the maker's name.[1]

THE BATTLE-AXE.

The iron battle-axe is also called the Francisca, it being the especial weapon of the Franks,[2] and it is to this arm that English archæologists have turned in seeking to explain the axes found in Anglo-Saxon graves. As is stated by historians,[3] the axe is very frequently discovered in Frankish cemeteries;[4] in fact, it has long been admitted that this weapon was in much more general use on the Continent than in Great Britain.[5] England has, however, provided us with a few examples.[6]

The Barbarian conquerors carried the axe in battle, but its use was reserved to certain privileged persons. The terrible effects of this weapon have been noted by ancient writers.[7] Those who were armed with the sword or the battle-axe were always picked men, and owed their selection for that honour either to rank or prowess.[8]

History testifies to the use of the battle-axe among the Anglo-Saxons. It formed part of the equipment of most of the soldiers who fought against the Normans at Hastings.[9] It is probable, however, that the axe was a somewhat late importation, introduced, according to Mr. Wylie, by the Scandinavian invaders.[10] Mr. Akerman appears to support this view, and leans to the opinion that the battle-axe came into general use during the Danish invasion, because it was less costly than the sword.

[1] Vol. xvii. of the *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur.*

[2] "Quas (secures) et Hispani ab usu Francorum per derivationem Franciscas vocant" (Isidore de Seville, *Etymol.*, lib. xviii., cap. vi.).

[3] "Pedites erant cæteri omnes (Franci) non arcu, non hasta armati, sed ensem clypeumque gestabant singuli ac securim unam: cujus ferrum valde crassum et utrinque acutissimum erat, e ligno manubrium admodum breve. Ut signum datum est, primo statim congressu ea securi iacta, hostium scuta diffringere solent eosque conficere" (Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, lib. ii., cap. 25).

[4] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum*, p. xi.

[5] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 203. Paris, 1854.—Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 477. London, 1885.

[6] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., p. 171.

[7] "Recentes quippe qui supervenerant, et viri electi erant, securibus et gladiis horribiliter corpora Brittonum findebant" (Hen. Hunt. IV., A.D. 752).

[8] "Congregantes autem se ad vexilla utrinque proceres et fortissimi, gladiis et securibus amazonicis rem agentes, acies aciebus funeste irruebant" (Hen. Hunt. IV., A.D. 752).

[9] William of Malmesbury, *Chronique de Normandie*: "Et sitôt comme les Anglois les virent fuir, ils commencèrent à poursuivir chacun la hache à son col."—Math. Paris, *Hist. Angl.*: "Saxones pedites omnes cum securibus."

[10] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 22. Oxford, 1852.

The *taper-axe* was common at the time of the promulgation of the Charter of Canute. One article in this charter assigned to Christ Church, Canterbury, the possession of the port of Sandwich, with the right to levy taxes on the adjacent lands. At high tide an axe was thrown ashore, from a vessel in the harbour, and all the land to the seaward of the point where it fell was liable to the tax.[1]

The axes of English origin resemble the Francisca of Merovingian cemeteries. One specimen was discovered at Faversham (Kent).[2]

Mr. Roach Smith quotes six from Ash, Ozingell (Kent), Colchester, Richborough and Canterbury,[3] while Mr. Neville mentions the finding of one at Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire). In his *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*[4] Mr. Akerman reproduces three examples, coming from the bed of the Thames at London, from Colchester, and from Icklingham (Suffolk).

The size of these battle-axes was occasionally such as to permit of their being used as missile weapons.[5]

THE BOW AND ARROWS.

Archæologists do not always include bows and arrows among weapons of war. The Franks, it is now believed, did not reckon them as part of their warlike equipment, and the rare specimens discovered are considered to have been used only in the chase.[6]

Archæologia brings together a mass of evidence to show that the bow was not employed as a weapon of war by the Anglo-Saxons;[7] but it would be wrong to conclude that this was also the case among other Barbarian nations. Alaric, when preparing in Thessaly to take the field against Stilicho, had bowmen under his command.[8]

Certain small shafted weapons have been erroneously described as arrows, though in reality javelins.[9] At an earlier period Mr. Faussett wrote of the iron points of missile weapons as arrows. It is clear, however, that they were darts, or small lances.

[1] *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, vol. iv., p. 24.

[2] *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities discovered at Faversham in Kent.* London, 1873.

[3] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., p. 224.

[4] Pl. xxiii.

[5] "Jactant Angli cuspides ac diversorum generum tela, sævissimas quasque secures" (*Gesta Gulielmi, ducis Normanorum*).

[6] Bequet, *Fouilles en* 1883 *et* 1884, p. 17.

[7] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., p. 171.

[8] Am. Thierry, *Alaric*, chap. ii., p. 50.

[9] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 22

The presence of arms of small size in the graves of the young proves that youths of the free classes were initiated into the art of war with weapons appropriate to their age.[1] Mr. Akerman says, very decidedly, with respect to arrows: "We know of no authentic account of the discovery of arrow-heads in these graves; the iron heads, barbed or otherwise, which some antiquaries have erroneously fancied to be the heads of arrows belong rather to these *spicula*. It is not asserted that the bow was unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, but there is abundant evidence that it was not commonly used by them as a weapon of war."[2]

The scarcity of arrows in the cemeteries of Kent has been explained on the ground that they had been completely destroyed in the graves by rust. However, the cemetery of Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight, has provided Mr. Hillier with a few barbed triangular arrow heads.[3]

It is remarkable that the bow, never used by the Anglo-Saxons before the Danish invasion, became eventually the national weapon.[4]

No mention is made of bows and arrows in Canute's law concerning arms, but they are referred to in the Encyclical Capitulary of 806,[5] and again in similar terms in a summons issued by the King to the Counts and Bishops in 813, ordering a levy of troops.[6]

The Lombard cemetery of Testona (Italy) contained numerous arrows, considerably more in proportion than the graves of the Anglo-Saxons and Franks. These missiles are mentioned in the Lombard laws,[7] while we learn from history that the Gothic armies contained trained archers.[8]

We must therefore conclude that the absence of arrows among the Anglo-Saxons constitutes an exception to the rule generally obtaining among the Barbarian nations.

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.

[2] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Introduction, p. ix.

[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.

[4] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 19. Oxford, 1852.

[5] "Ita vero preparatus cum honoribus tuis ad prædictum locum venies, ut inde in quamcumque partem nostra fuerit jussio et exercitaliter ire possis; id est cum armis . . . ita ut unusquisque caballarius habeat scutum et lanceam et spatam et semispatam, arcum et pharetras cum sagittis" (Pertz, iii., 145).—Epist. Caroli M. ad Fulradum abbatem S. Dionysi, 784.—Eccart, *De rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, i., p. 522.

[6] "Et ipse comes prævidet quomodo sint parati, id est lanceam scutum, aut arcum cum duas cordas, sagittas duodecem; de his uterque habeant" (Pertz, iii., 188).—Capit. Aquisgranense, a. 813.

[7] "Si quis in curte alterius irato animo sagittaverit, aut lanceam jactaverit componat xx solidis" (*Leges Longobardicæ*, xliv.).

[8] "Quarum (Vesegothi et Ostrogothi) studium fuit primum inter alias gentes vicinas arcus intendere nervis. Lucano plus historico quam poeta testante: *armenios arcus gethicis intendite nervis*."—"Detectis pectoribus et capitibus, congressi contra Gothos, milites nostri multitudine sagittariorum saepe delecti" (Vegetius, *De re Militari*, i., xx.).

THE SHIELD.

The shield is the only defensive armour found in Anglo-Saxon graves. It was of comparatively small size, and circular or slightly oval in shape,[1] made of light wood,[2] or wicker-work, and completely covered with a thick tanned hide.[3] Its lightness and handiness rendered it highly serviceable. The bucklers found in England are usually about 54 centimetres in diameter. In the poem of Beowulf linden-wood bucklers are entitled *lind*, a poetic expression designating a buckler in the Germanic tongue. Wood, then, was the material usually employed, the exception claimed for the buckler of Beowulf serving to emphasise the general rule. The hero is said to have been armed with an iron shield, in order to fight the fire-dragon.[4] The *Codex Exoniensis* also confirms the fact of wood having been the usual material of the buckler, which is therein called poetically the linden.[5] Ancient poems and illuminated manuscripts speak of certain coloured shields, the varied tints of which served to distinguish different bodies of troops—a custom probably borrowed from the Romans, if we may judge from the description given in the *Notitia*.[6]

The wood and other materials of which the buckler was constructed have long since perished; only the metal part is found in the graves. The umbo, or boss, of iron, was in the centre of the shield.[7] It was fixed to the wood by strong rivets, with big iron heads. These large heads were often overlaid with

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum*, p. xiii. London, 1873.—Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 87.

[2] *Codex Exoniensis* (Gnomic verses, p. 339).

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 22.—Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.

[4] "Then commanded to be made for him
The refuge of warriors,
All of iron,
The lord of earls,
A wondrous war-board:
He knew well enough
That him forest-wood
Might not help,
Linden-wood opposed to fire."
(*Beowulf*, line 4668.)

[5] "A ship shall be mailed;
A shield bound,
The light linden board."

[6] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii.

[7] "Umbo scuti pars media est, quasi umbilicus" (Isidore de Séville, *Etymol.*, lib. xviii., cap. xii.).

copper, white metal, or silver, while one specimen exists in which gold has been so employed.[1] The button forming the top of the umbo was ornamented in similar fashion.

The handle crossed the hollow of the umbo. Its length was generally equal to the width of the shield, the handle proper fitting the lower part of the umbo. Shields constructed in this fashion have been found in the cemeteries of Gilton,[2] Little Wilbraham,[3] and Harnham Hill, near Salisbury. As we have mentioned above, the handle extended on each side in the form of a cross-piece, which gave strength to the buckler as a whole. The thickness of the wood and its covering is shown by the length of the rivets.

The convex form of the umbo was of great value in causing the enemies' missiles to glance off, and in protecting the hand of the warrior. At the same time the buckler could be used as a weapon of offence. Muratori expresses the opinion that umbones furnished with a very sharp point (pl. ii., fig. 3) were used, in hand-to-hand fighting, to keep the enemy at arm'sl-ength.[4] Nor is this an altogether gratuitous assertion, for Tacitus relates incidents which support the contention.[5]

The Barbarians were accustomed to raise loud war-cries before going into battle, to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. They used to intensify the sound by holding the hollow of the umbo to their mouths, and so alarming were their cries that even the Roman legions were unnerved by them in their earlier engagements. The hollow of the umbo increased the reverberation ten-fold, while the clash of arms against it re-echoed with terrifying effect. The rank and file of the Anglo-Saxons were armed with spear and shield, knives, and sometimes light javelins.[6] When the word *arma* is used in old historical documents, it means the complete equipment of spear and shield. Proof of this may be found in the Capitularies of Ansegio.[7]

The manufacture of bucklers became a very important industry among the

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum*, p. xiii.

[2] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xv., fig. 14.

[3] *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. xxxviii.

[4] "Brocchiere s'io non m'inganno, fu chiamata quella specie di scudi che nel mezzo teneva uno spontone, o chiodo acuto di ferro, ed eminente, con cui anche si potea ferire il nemico, se troppo si avvicinava. . . . Brocca volea dire uno ferro acuto."

[5] "Igitur et Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus ora fœdare cœpere" (*Agricola*, 36).—"Sternitur et quædam pars duro umbone vivorum" (Walthar, v., 195).

[6] Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, description of pl. xxvi.

[7] "Ut nullus ad mallum vel ad placitum intra patriam arma, id est scutum et lanceam portet" (III., § 4; 22).—Muratori, *Dissert.*, 26.

Anglo-Saxons. In the reign of Æthelred the shield-wrights had become a numerous body; indeed, a street in Winchester was named after them.[1] Legal provision was made to secure the proper construction of these bucklers. A law of Æthelstan inflicted a fine of thirty shillings on any workman who used sheep-skin to cover them.[2]

The shields in use among the Teutonic tribes were not carried on the arm, but held in the hand, the warrior being thus enabled to parry blows aimed at him, or to diminish their force. This method of carrying the buckler explains the sense of the phrase *clypeos rotare*, used by Apollinaris Sidonius in his description of the Frank warriors.

Anglo-Saxon bucklers were similar in shape and size to those of the Franks.[3] Both Mr. Wylie[4] and Mr. Akerman[5] mention specimens in which the wooden portion was ornamented with bronze or iron discs placed round the umbo, at a distance calculated to increase its power of resistance.

The commonest form of Anglo-Saxon umbo is also general in Frankish graves, in the Barbarian cemeteries of the Rhineland, of Bavaria, and even of Northern Italy. As a rule they are simply varieties of the general type (pl. ii., figs. 1, 4, and 6). There exist, however, certain very rare umbones, much more conical in form, which Kemble looks upon as importations.[6]

Under this head we must include two from Sibertswold, which are illustrated in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.[7] The same type, but more strongly marked, was found by Mdlle. Mestorf in a grave at Frestedt, Schleswig.[8]

In pl. ii., figs. 2 and 5, we illustrate two umbones remarkable for size and shape, and belonging to a rare and unusual type. The first (pl. ii., fig. 2) comes from Farthing Down, Surrey. Our drawing was made in the museum at Oxford, the specimen being unique in style, and never before figured. It is composed of several iron plates, joined together by little rings of the same metal. The second (pl. ii., fig. 5) was found at Sittingbourne,[9] placed vertically to the right of the skeleton.

Among exceptional specimens we must notice the umbo recently discovered at

[1] Charter of Æthelred, A.D. 996 (*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, vol. vi., p. 135).
[2] *Leges Æthelstani*, xv.
[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.
[4] *Fairford Graves*, p. 14.
[5] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Driffield umbo, pl. ix.
[6] *Horæ Ferales*, p. 87.
[7] Pl. xv., figs. 13 and 15.
[8] This umbo is in the Kiel Museum.—*Vorgeschichtliche alterthümer aus Schleswig-Holstein*, pl. lviii., fig. 709. Hamburg, 1885.
[9] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i., p. 104.

Barrington, Cambridgeshire, of which we give an exact illustration (fig. 6).[1] There is nothing very remarkable in the shape, but the button affixed to the top is interesting in its decoration. The stem and the button are in bronze gilt, and are fastened to the umbo by three feet. The button is deeply chased, the workmanship recalling the ornamentation of the massive saucer-shaped brooches. The incised designs are separated by double lines. One compartment contains an imaginary

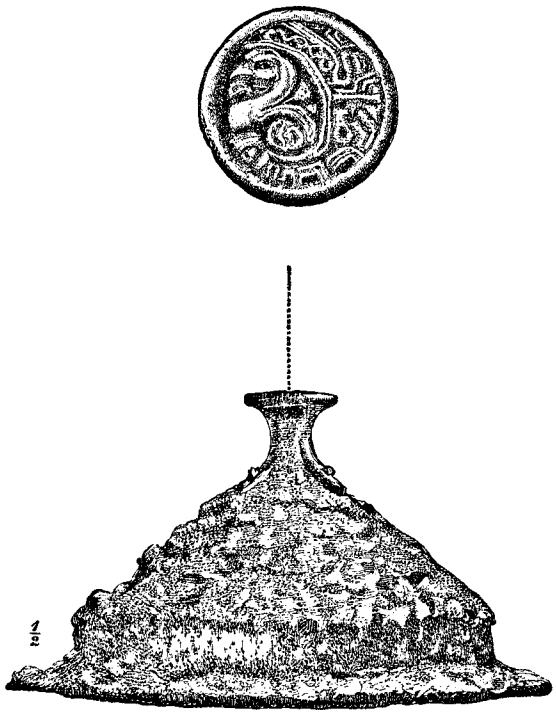

FIG. 6. UMBO FROM BARRINGTON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

bird, with a swan's head and neck, while in the others the S form of decoration appears very distinctly.

The cemetery of Barrington alone contained eight umbones. From the hundred and six men's graves at Gilton eighteen were taken, and the same number of spears. At Kingston Down thirteen bucklers were discovered in three hundred and eight graves. Seventeen were found at Sibertswold,[2] four at Ozingell,[3] eight at Fairford,[4]

[1] Walter K. Foster, *Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire*, p. 12. Cambridge, 1883.

[2] *Horæ Ferales*, p. 82.

[3] "Anglo-Saxon Remains discovered at Ozingell, Kent" *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii., pl. ii.

[4] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 241.—*Fairford Graves.*

and nineteen at Little Wilbraham.[1] Lastly we may mention a barrow at Sporle, Norfolk, which contained seven skeletons lying side by side. Some of these had bucklers placed over their heads; the bodies were enveloped in woollen mantles, fastened over the breast, and with each one was a spear of the most general type.[2]

[1] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pls. xxxvii. and xxxviii.
[2] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom.*

ANGLO-SAXON FIBULÆ.

ARTISTIC character, variety of form, and delicacy of workmanship combine to render the fibulæ of Anglo-Saxon manufacture objects of the highest interest. In no other part of Europe in the fifth and sixth centuries do we find, within so small a limit, so many distinct models, or so many perfectly independent creations.

The position of the Anglo-Saxons in history being recognised, we are enabled to draw definite conclusions from the geographical distribution of their fibulæ. The concentration of certain types in particular districts implies colonisation by distinct sub-tribes, the variety of decorative styles, and the multiplicity of forms aiding us in assigning each type to the tribes to which it properly belongs. On the other hand, when we find a special form of fibula recurring constantly, in a locality the inhabitants of which are known, we are justified in attributing to them a special fondness for that form. Archæologists are thus enabled to argue back to the primitive types, follow their various modifications, and arrive eventually at unassailable conclusions.

The due assignment of archæological remains to their proper source is rendered unusually easy in England by the accurate knowledge we possess of the movements of the invaders. The artistic peculiarities of their fibulæ display the national characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon peoples; yet, notwithstanding their common origin, each tribe among the Barbarian conquerors has preserved in its art work those features which were peculiarly its own, and which have in part resisted the influence of the closest contact.

Anthropology recognises in the Anglo-Saxon races characteristics which exist to-day among the people of Great Britain. The facial type of the invaders still lives in their descendants, in the regions they colonised. It is impossible to confound it with that of the Britons, who were driven by their conquering hordes into the fastnesses of Cornwall and Wales.[1]

Like other Barbarian nations, the Anglo-Saxons were fond of personal orna-

[1] *Crania Britannica*, chap. vi., p. 183.—Lappenberg, Thorpe's translation, vol. i., p. 112. London, 1845.

ments,[1] and in especial of fibulæ.[2] Their brooches are thus worthy of attention by reason of their archæological importance as well as of their artistic merit.

Four or five fibulæ are often found in the same grave,[3] placed on different parts of the body.[4] It is plain, therefore, that more than one was habitually worn.

A few Anglo-Saxon fibulæ are of large size. On the other hand, no specimen of exceptional dimensions has been found on the Continent.

Fibulæ, as a rule, and especially in the north of England, differ widely from all the productions of Roman art. In the invaded provinces the Teutonic ideal displaced the classic in the abruptest fashion. The transformation was of the most radical nature, due either to very strong national traditions, or to an invincible repugnance for the civilisation of Rome. Henri Martin apparently adopts the latter alternative when he represents the Saxons as repudiating with hatred and contempt the arts, laws, and religion of the Romans.[5]

A brief summary of the whole subject is advisable before considering in detail each variety of fibula. Certain fibulæ from Kent and the Isle of Wight are looked upon as importations from the north-west of Gaul.

They are of three types,—

Radiated or digitated fibulæ.
S-shaped fibulæ.
Bird-shaped fibulæ.

English savants rightly class these as Continental types. The other Anglo-Saxon varieties are,—

Cruciform fibulæ.
Square-headed fibulæ.
Cupelliform or saucer-shaped fibulæ.
Annular fibulæ.
Circular fibulæ (Kentish).

The cruciform type is peculiar to England, and in its developments takes rank as an Anglo-Saxon creation, though the original idea came from Sweden. The Midland counties of England form the area of its most general distribution.

[1] Am. Thierry, *Alaric*, p. 210.

[2] Claud., *In Eutrop.*, lib. ii., verse 183.

[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum.*

[4] "Fibulæ sunt, quibus pectus fæminarum ornatur, vel pallium tenetur a viris in humeris, seu cingulum in lumbis" (Isidore of Seville, *Etymol.*, bk. xix., chap. xxxi.).

[5] Henri Martin, *Histoire de France*, t. i., p. 414.

These ornaments were at first extremely simple, but later, under the influence of various artistic movements, were covered with decorations of a rude and sometimes grotesque character. They have not, however, even under a superabundance of decorative detail, lost their primitive form. They are wrought in the mass of the metal, and are never set with glass or stone—a peculiarity which is worthy of special notice. The upper portion of the fibula is more or less in the form of a cross; hence, the name cruciform. Nothing has been found in the south of England similar in style to these fibulæ.

Another type of elongated fibula forms an interesting class. In these the upper part is square, while the lower often assumes the form of a grotesque head. The cross-shaped development of the lower part of these fibulæ has caused them to be included under the head of cruciform; but in our opinion this name should be specially reserved for the type previously referred to.

They are not, in fact, always so styled by English archæologists, Mr. Wylie, for instance, calling them double fibulæ.[1] They are sometimes inlaid with pastes or stones.

Circular fibulæ may be divided into three categories.

The fibulæ called in England dish-shaped might be named concave, or, better still, cupelliform; they are found in the more eastern settlements of the Barbarians. They form an exclusively Anglo-Saxon group, and may be considered indigenous to Great Britain.

Anglo-Saxon art has produced another variety, annular in shape, composed of a simple ring, which is crossed by the acus. The ring is sometimes filled up in part by radii cut in the bronze, the centre taking the form of a cross *patée*, or with equal branches.

Lastly, the south of England, and especially Kent, has given us a class of fibula quite distinct from those already described. Mr. Roach Smith divides them into three groups.[2] In the first the fibula is formed of two metal plaques, joined by a circular border. In the second a disc of bronze or silver, slightly concave, is decorated with gold-foil, covered with compartments forming geometrical figures. The fibulæ of the third group, which are far more numerous, are composed of a single piece of metal, decorated with incised work, and set with jewels and glass.

This splendid array of fibulæ, the delicate workmanship of which is so characteristic of Anglo-Saxon art, is of incontestable utility in the study of their *cloisonné* goldsmith's work.

[1] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 23.

[2] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities discovered at Faversham*, p. xiii. London, 1873.

RADIATED FIBULÆ.

The settlements of the Barbarian tribes usually contain certain large fibulæ improperly called digitated. This type, generally considered by archæologists to be highly characteristic, is a compound of two styles. The upper part is in form rectangular, or semicircular, with radiated ornament; the lower varies considerably, being sometimes quite simple, but more often lozenge-shaped. The two extremities are joined by a curve.

These ornaments are generally assigned to the period of the Germanic migrations, as specimens of the type are found among the most ancient of the invading peoples. They extend over a large geographical area, and display various peculiarities of artistic detail. The type has been met with in Eastern Europe, in France, and in Germany; it has been found in some abundance by the archæologists of Hungary,[1] and it is also common in Southern Russia.[2] In the north of Italy again it is not unknown, and we have had occasion to refer to it in our treatise on the industrial arts of the Lombards.[3]

The heads of these fibulæ are square, or semi-circular, and ornamented with radii, often to the number of five. This arrangement has suggested to some investigators the idea of the five fingers of the hand, and has earned for them the title of digitated fibulæ.[4]

These ornaments are very rare in England, and are looked upon as importations—a conclusion which English savants base on solid grounds, for the Saxons may very well have received them from the Franks, with whom, according to Procopius, they were in communication.[5] At the same time the presence of these fibulæ in Kent, in conjunction with work of Anglo-Saxon origin, renders it necessary we should refer to them. Their striking resemblance to the types known in Central Europe, and especially in France, renders these pieces of great value.

[1] *Arch. Ertesitö.*—Dr. W. Lipp, *Die gräberfelder von Keszthely*, figs. 328 and 332.—*Proceedings of the Internationl Congress of Buda-Pesth.*

[2] D. Macpherson, *Antiquities of Kertch.* London, 1857.—*Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. x., 1858.—Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v. London, 1861.—J. de Baye, "Les Bijoux Gothiques de Kertch," *Revue Archéologique*, 1888.

[3] *Industrie Longobarde*, p. 31. Paris, 1888.

[4] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 228.

[5] "Tanta est hominum multitudo, ut inde singulis annis non pauci cum uxoribus liberisque migrent ad Francos, qui in suae ditionis solo, quod desertius videtur, sedes illis ascribunt: ex quo fieri dicitur, ut sibi quoddam jus in insulam arrogent. Certe Francorum Rex non ita pridem, cum nonnullos ex intimis Byzantium legatos ad Justinianum Augustum mitteret, Anglos illis adjunxerat, ambitiose ostendens, se huic etiam insulæ dominari" (Procopius, *de Bello Gothico*, cap. iv., 20).

The radiated fibulæ, and those in the shape of birds, are considered by Roach Smith[1] to be prior in point of date to the cruciform and all other Anglo-Saxon types.[2] This opinion is confirmed by the classification which it has been proposed to adopt on the Continent. In fact, there seem good reasons for placing them earlier than the other Frankish and Merovingian fibulæ.

The connection between the Anglo-Saxons and the Germanic tribes inhabiting the north-west of Gaul receives confirmation, archæologically, from the discovery of these fibulæ. The Barbarian cemeteries in the neighbourhood of the Straits do not, it is true, contain so many specimens as those of the Rhenish provinces, but they have at least furnished a few fine radiated fibulæ,[3] and their very rarity should certainly entitle them to the closest attention. From another point of

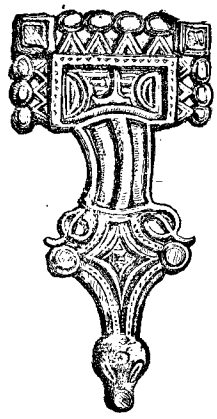

FIG. 7. FIBULA IN SILVER-GILT FROM FAVERSHAM (KENT). SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

view, the relations subsisting between the inhabitants of the south coast of Great Britain and the Franks did not exclude the possibility of communications with other Teutonic tribes; but it is noticeable that the English examples of this type come, almost without exception, from Kent, and especially from the coast.[4]

Chatham (Kent) has supplied two very characteristic specimens[5] (pl. iii., figs. 1 and 6), now in the Museum at Oxford. From Faversham (Kent) come several of these ornaments, three of which are illustrated in pl. iii., figs. 4, 5,

[1] Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities discovered at Faversham*, p. xv.

[2] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v., p. 138, 1861.

[3] Vaillant, *Le Cimetière de Nesles-les-Verlincthun*, pl. i., figs. 4 and 5; pl. iii., figs. 1 and 3 Arras, 1886.

[4] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., p. 218, 1852, and vol. v., p. 137, 1861.

[5] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. iv., fig. 7.

and 7. Figs. 4[1] and 5[2] were found in duplicate—an experience which is by no means uncommon in cemeteries containing objects of this class. The fibula[3] in silver gilt which we reproduce (fig. 7) is from the same locality. It is set with garnets, and, like those above referred to, is one of a pair.[4] Notwithstanding its square head, we are forced to include it in this category, as it is identical in technique with the other specimens. In order to omit nothing which bears on the consideration of this type of fibula, we give an illustration of a fragment also found at Faversham.[5] A pair of fibulæ were found at Folkestone Hill, between Folkestone and Dover,[6] of bronze gilt, set with slabs of garnet, or coloured glass. Two similar specimens were discovered at Ozingell[7] and Harrietsham.[8] The half of one of these fibulæ[9] has been found at Chessell Down, in the Isle of Wight, the grave from which it was taken being older than the others composing the cemetery. This fact, which is noted by Mr.

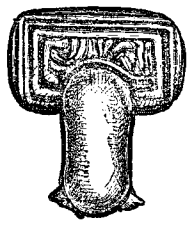

FIG. 8. FRAGMENT OF FIBULA FROM FAVERSHAM (KENT), SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM.

Hillier, confirms the view previously expressed as to the antiquity of fibulæ of this type.

The excavations undertaken by Mr. Neville in the vast cemetery of Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, brought to light one hundred and eighteen fibulæ, only one of which belonged to the category now under consideration. This specimen is given at pl. iii., fig. 3.[10]

[1] South Kensington Museum, Nos. 1079, 1079a, in *Catalogue.*

[2] *Ibidem*, Nos. 1080, 1080a.

[3] *Ibidem*, Nos. 1054, 1054a.

[4] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities discovered at Faversham*, p. xiv.

[5] *Catalogue of the Faversham Antiquities*, Nos. 1083, 1083a.

[6] *The Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. iv., p. 159, 1849.—*Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., 1852, pl. l., fig. 3, and p. 218.

[7] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii., pl. vi., fig. 2.

[8] *Ibidem*, vol. v., p. 137.

[9] Now in the British Museum.

[10] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. viii., fig. 133.

We have further only to cite a fibula found exceptionally far north, namely, at Searby, in Lincolnshire.

This example is in silver gilt, set with red glass or garnets[1] (pl. iii., fig. 2). Its admirable workmanship, and the fantastic head which forms its lower extremity, render it a most interesting piece.

This series of fibulæ found in England provide a most valuable fund of information for those archæologists who are occupied in investigating their origin and geographical distribution.

S-SHAPED FIBULÆ.

S-shaped fibulæ have been the object of special study on the part of archæologists; it is therefore necessary to notice their presence in Anglo-Saxon territory. They are rarely met with in England, where they are looked upon as an importation from the Franks—a view which is in all probability the correct one. The rarity of their appearance prevents our assigning an important place to them among the antiquities of Great Britain.

Fibulæ of various forms, ornamented with birds' heads, undoubtedly belong, whatever their source, to the same type of industrial art.

The few specimens which we have been able to examine in England are illustrated in pl. iv.; they afford us some additional data for the study of S-shaped fibulæ. Two of these ornaments, forming a pair, which come from Sleaford, Lincolnshire (pl. iv., fig. 6), are the only examples which can be attributed to Saxon manufacture. They are in bronze, plated with tin, and are decorated with designs sunk in the metal by means of a punch. They are heavy and inartistic in shape, and their imperfect workmanship is nothing but a degenerate copy of the typical specimens found in France and Bavaria. The idea, which is certainly identical, is far less artistically rendered.

The valuable collection of Mr. John Evans contains two similar fibulæ (pl. iv., fig. 7) in bronze, found in a grave at Halsingfield, Cambridgeshire. These pieces, which are of somewhat peculiar workmanship, are now illustrated for the first time.

A still more characteristic specimen, now in the British Museum, was discovered at Iffley, Oxford (pl. iv., fig. 8). It is decorated with slabs of garnets, set on gold foil, and with its peculiar style, its jewels, its shape, its double bird's head, with hooked beak, resembles, in the most remarkable way, the ornaments of a

[1] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v., pl. xii., fig. 1.

similar type taken from Frankish, Burgundian, and Bavarian graves. We reproduce also another brooch, one of a pair, found in the cemetery of Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, and now in the British Museum (pl. iv., fig. 9).

A pair of bronze fibulæ, set with red and blue enamel, connected by a chain, is also specially noteworthy (fig. 9). It belongs to the same artistic period, and recalls the style of the specimens previously referred to.

The chain, which is formed of slender metal links, is not usually found with

FIG. 9. FIBULÆ FROM FAVERSHAM (KENT).

S-shaped fibulæ, though these are generally met with in pairs. This ornament, which was worn on the breast,[1] comes from Faversham, Kent.[2]

The pin, which was always in iron, has in this case been destroyed by oxidation, and has left only a few shapeless traces of its existence.

BIRD-SHAPED FIBULÆ.

Bird-shaped fibulæ are very rarely met with in Anglo-Saxon barrows. This very scarcity, however, combined with their strong resemblance to those exhumed from Frankishc emeteries,[3] is a sufficient reason for not passing them over. In pl. iv. we give illustrations of all the specimens at present known in England.

The fibula which shows the greatest variation from the original type was found in the cemetery at Fairford[4] (pl. iv., no. 1). It is easy to recognise the degenerate art of this specimen, which is more like a duck than the usual bird with hooked beak.

The specimen from Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, now in the British Museum, represents a bird resembling a dove (pl. iv., fig. 4). The cemetery of Barrington,

[1] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities discovered at Faversham in Kent.* London, 1873. Introduction, p. xv.

[2] South Kensington Museum, No. 1088.

[3] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., p. 148.

[4] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, pl. iii., fig. 7.

Cambridgeshire, has also produced a bird-shaped brooch, in bronze gilt[1] (pl. iv., fig. 2).

The Chessell Down cemetery, the mortuary furniture of which resembles so closely that of the Frankish burial-places, yielded the fibula reproduced in pl. iv., fig. 3. It exactly resembles the typical bird, with its characteristic hooked beak.

The question of the source of these ornaments, representing the hook-beaked bird, which are found in Barbarian cemeteries on the Continent, has often engaged the attention of archæologists. The Gothic tribes had a great predilection for the bird as a decorative subject,[2] and its constant recurrence in those countries where the Goths remained longest is sufficient proof of its origin.

English savants, it must be said, noting the rarity of bird-shaped fibulæ in Anglo-Saxon graves, have concluded that they are a Continental type, and that their presence in England is due to importation.

Kent and the Isle of Wight alone have furnished objects which are considered as of Continental origin, and it is in these districts only that the rare examples of the hook-beaked bird have been found.

The bird-shaped fibulæ of Fairford and Barrington are imitations, and of inferior artistic value. The original type, in all its purity, is represented by the fibula of the Isle of Wight (pl. iv., fig. 3), the hair-pin of Faversham, Kent[3] (pl. iv., fig. 5), and one or two pendants.[4] These figures of birds, decorated with slabs of garnet and glass, are always found in connection with jewellery set with precious stones. The association of bird-shaped and radiated fibulæ is now an ascertained fact of archæology.

The Barbarian ornaments imported into England, and classed as of Continental origin, are of great importance. Not only are they proofs of intercourse, but they also illustrate the artistic influence exerted over that part of Great Britain which was near France. It is only when freed from this foreign element that Anglo-Saxon art stands revealed in all its originality.

CRUCIFORM FIBULÆ.

Scandinavia has produced certain objects which suggest a comparison with Anglo-Saxon antiquities, the period during which this comparison is possible being

[1] Walter K. Foster, *Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire*, pl. iv., fig. 3. Cambridge, 1883.

[2] "Les Bijoux Gothiques de Kertch" from the *Revue Archéologique*, 1888.

[3] *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum.* Gibbs' Collection, No. 1130.

[4] *Ibidem*, No. 1145.

that known to the savants of the North as the first Iron Age. At this epoch the North was coming under the sway of new nations, who introduced the Runic character, and at the same time showed, in a variety of ways, that they had been in contact with the civilisation of Rome. The language of the oldest Runic inscriptions proves that the inhabitants of Sweden, during the first Iron Age, were of Germanic origin. The progress of science, however, does not as yet permit us to affirm that this was the first appearance of the Germans in Scandinavia.[1] These considerations, advanced on the authority of a savant whose competence is undoubted, may fittingly preface the study of those fibulæ known to English archæologists as cruciform. We represent here three of these objects, two being of Swedish origin, while the third is English. No. 1, from Svanskog, Vermland, and No. 3, from Oland, are in the Stockholm Museum; No. 2 is in the Anglo-Saxon collection at South Kensington.

It would be easy to multiply points of resemblance, but the three specimens here brought together show plainly enough a common artistic parentage.

These typical fibulæ have also been studied by Mr. Hildebrand, who states that they are extremely rare in Gothland, but abundant in Sweden and Norway. The numerous varieties found throughout this vast region are a proof of the estimation in which these ornaments were held by the Scandinavians, during a period sufficiently long to afford scope for many modifications in the less essential details.

In Denmark fibulæ of this form are rare, an exception to the general rule, for the Scandinavian and Danish antiquities of the first Iron Age are usually very similar in type. The presence of this class of fibula in England is most interesting, and highly important. Mr. Neville, in his valuable work *Saxon Obsequies*, gives a series of these fibulæ, from the original model down to the most degenerate form to which it has given birth. There is considerable difficulty in defining accurately the geographical limits of the type, and its early disappearance from Denmark requires explanation, in view of the fact that it conflicts with the teachings of history as to the early home of the Angles.[2]

The examples figured on page 47 show the oldest variety of cruciform fibulæ imported from Scandinavia. Amongst these early models, the primordial types of the cruciform fibulæ, a few are remarkable as ending in animals' heads, very elongated, and with prominent eyes. Mr. Akerman, speaking of the bronzes from Rugby, expresses the opinion that these are horses' heads.[3]

In pl. v. we reproduce some examples in which the type, though it has already

[1] Montelius, *Antiquités Suédoises*, p. 83.

[2] H. Hildebrand, *The Industrial Arts of Scandinavia in the Pagan Time*, p. 23. London, 1883.

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*. Description of pl. xviii.

undergone some modification, yet retains the more archaic form. Finally, two specimens shown in pl. vi. indicate, by their profuse decoration, a still more recent date. Central and Eastern Europe have not furnished a single specimen of these fibulæ; they are found only in Scandinavia and in England; not, however, in the southern counties. Faussett's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, and Douglas' *Nenia Britannica*, which deal specially with Kent, make no reference to cruciform fibulæ.

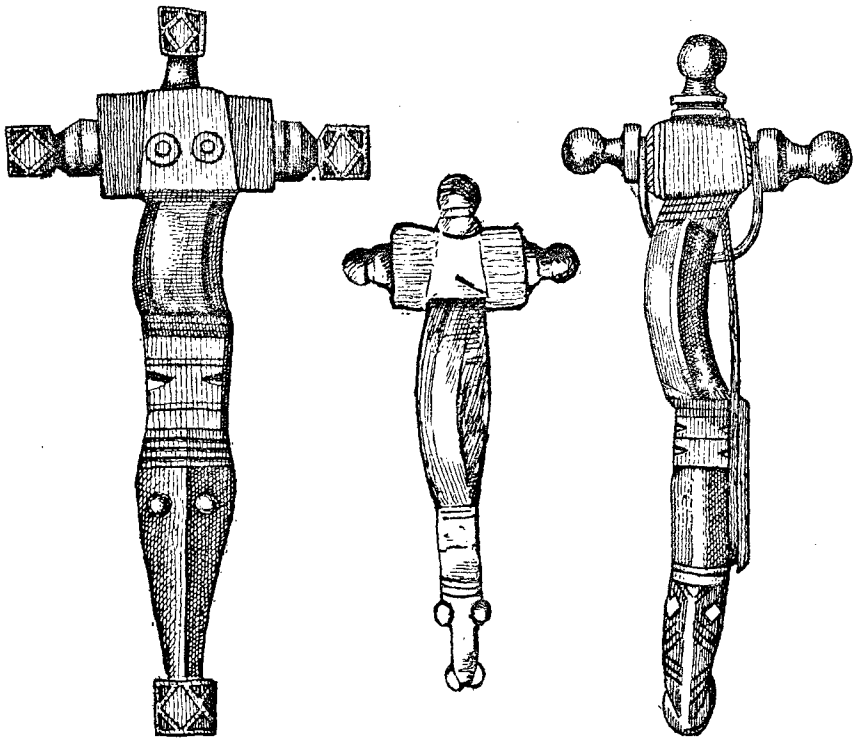

FIG. 10. CRUCIFORM FIBULÆ.

These bronze ornaments, so peculiar in form, are never set with garnets or other stones.

Some few are gilt, or plated with silver—a style of decoration apparently peculiar to them, and not found in the brooches of the south of England.

Akerman gives an illustration of the first cruciform fibula found in England.[1] It was discovered near Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, in 1785, together with some Roman coins, mostly of the reign of Constantine. This fibula was originally gilt,

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xx., fig. 2.

and the prominent portions were plated with silver. A similar specimen was found at Billesdon in the same county.[1]

We have already referred to the examples reproduced by Mr. Neville.[2] Figs. 1 and 3, pl. v., are taken from this group. The splendid series in the British Museum finds worthy rivals in the collection of Mr. Evans.

Among these latter is the fibula of Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire (pl. v., fig. 4), which was found in the same barrow with another of similar character. The Sporle (Norfolk) fibula (pl. v., fig. 5) is now in the Norwich Museum.[3] Among the examples discovered at Barrington, Cambridgeshire, we illustrate (pl. v., fig. 2) the specimen which is most interesting, on account both of its rich decoration and of its large size. It was found on the right shoulder of a skeleton, and was accompanied by two other cruciform fibulæ of a much simpler character. The same grave contained forty amber beads, twenty-six smaller beads of terra-cotta, bronze clasps on both wrists of the skeleton, and other objects of less importance.[4]

Two fibulæ of this type, found in a barrow near Driffield, Yorkshire, are quoted by Mr. Bowman. They were worn on the breast of a woman, as is clearly indicated by the position they occupied on the skeleton. Mr. Roach Smith has illustrated a series of cruciform fibulæ from Stowe Heath, Suffolk.[5]. Several specimens have been exhumed from the cemetery at Barrow Furlong, Northamptonshire,[6] while Lord Braybrooke has found them in the graves of Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire. Mr. Wright has reproduced the fibula from Stowe Heath, Suffolk, a remarkable specimen, eighteen centimetres in length, and decorated with monstrous heads very roughly executed.[7]

Cruciform fibulæ, when of unusual size, are most profusely decorated, but the workmanship is wanting in delicacy. Among the most elaborate, in the class under notice, the first place must be assigned to the two specimens found at Sleaford, Lincolnshire[8] (pl. vi., figs. 1 and 2), and now in the British Museum. The first of these (pl. vi., fig. 1) is very rich in detail, and full of interest. English archæologists are agreed in regarding these wonderful ornaments as an original creation of Anglo-

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xiv.

[2] *Saxon Obsequies*, pls. i., ii., iv., v., vi., vii., viii., ix., x.

[3] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxix.

[4] Foster, *Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire*, 1880.

[5] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., pl. xl.

[6] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii.

[7] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 479.

[8] G. W. Thomas, "On Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford," *Archæologia*, 1887, vol. l., pl. xxiii., fig. 1, and pl. xxiv., fig. 2.

Saxon industry. The rudely suggested human face bears eloquent testimony to the originality of this specimen. Another remarkable peculiarity is the triangle which decorates the base of the fibula; indeed, the whole scheme of decoration excites our curiosity, and demands explanation. This type, which is relatively rare, and somewhat strictly localised, seems to be an exaggeration of the cruciform fibula of Scandinavian origin, and indicates a new, independent, and peculiar artistic creation. Its localisation may perhaps point to its use by one particular tribe, whose arrival was independent of the more general migration. Its rarity may indicate that its use was confined to a single community, or that but few artists were capable of executing work of this character, while the date may possibly throw some light on points which are otherwise obscure.

The grave at Sleaford from which this interesting fibula was taken was that of a woman of wealth. It contained another brooch of smaller size, a necklace of two hundred and seventy-one amber beads, to which was attached a silver bulla, two silver discs, placed on the bosom, part of the clasp of a bracelet, some fragments of bronze rings, and a girdle-hanger with three bronze pendants; near the waist was found a buckle, an iron knife, and some objects of less importance.

On the second Sleaford fibula is figured a swastika, a sacred emblem often seen on objects of the Barbarian epoch; we have met with it in a large number of localities. It is impossible, however, to consider it as anything more than a reminiscence of the same symbol found by Mr. Schliemann in his excavations in Greece. On this subject English archæologists have maintained a prudent reserve, and do not seem to have sought in other regions for an explanation of this comparatively late use of the swastika. We shall for the present imitate our neighbours, merely suggesting here the presence of a problem awaiting solution.[1]

Cruciform fibulæ are found in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Yorkshire. They were evidently peculiar to the Angles, who inhabited Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria.

It is impossible to determine accurately the date of the principal colonising incursions of the Angles, but it may be assumed to be the middle of the sixth century. The Anglian colonies in the East were known as the North-folk and the South-folk. The Midlands and the North were also occupied by immigrants of Anglian origin, or

[1] The connection between the swastika of Eastern mysticism and the Scandinavian Thor's hammer is fully recognised by students of symbology. The presence of this symbol on cruciform fibulæ is an additional proof, if one were needed, of their Scandinavian origin and pre-Christian date.—*Translator.*

of tribes allied to them; the Angles, in fact, who were much more numerous than the Saxons, spread over a larger extent of country.[1]

The word cruciform must not be allowed to suggest any idea of Christianity, the resemblance to a cross being the only reason for so styling these fibulæ. The barrows in which they are found undoubtedly belong to the epoch of the pagan Saxons.[2]

SQUARE-HEADED FIBULÆ.

The cruciform fibula is not the only type included in the class of elongated fibulæ. To the group above discussed must be added the second subdivision, square-headed fibulæ, though hitherto no distinction has been made between the two types. The division of elongated fibulæ into cruciform and square-headed seems reasonable, and will be of use in the study of Anglo-Saxon archæology. English savants give the name of cruciform to the second class, on account of the form which is often assumed by the base of the fibula. A closer examination, however, shows that it is not always in the shape of a cross; while the head, on the other hand, always, without exception, retains its rectangular form. This, then, may fairly be considered the characteristic mark of the type, and the title, square-headed fibula, will prevent any confusion with the preceding group. Mr. Wylie's suggested name, double fibula, has not been adopted.[3]

We cannot admit that this type of fibula is exclusively Anglo-Saxon. Several specimens have been met with in France[4] and Germany,[5] and we have reproduced two ornaments of the same form, which were found at Testona,[6] Italy. It is, however, only in Scandinavia that we find square-headed fibulæ, which recall in their development of form and ornamentation the specimens of Anglo-Saxon handiwork.

The results obtained by MM. Hildebrand and Montelius, in their researches into the antiquities of Sweden, are of great service in the study of Anglo-Saxon art. The cruciform fibulæ of Sweden are assigned to the first Iron Age;[7] the square-headed, on the other hand, are classed in the second Iron Age.[8]

[1] *Crania Britannica*, p. 182.

[2] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 481.

[3] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 19.

[4] Caranda (Aisne). *Album* of M. Fr. Moreau, pl. xxxi., fig. 1.—Baudot, *Sépultures de Charnay (Bourgogne)*.

[5] Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, Taf. xvi. and xvii.

[6] *Industrie Longobarde*, pl. iv., fig. 7. Paris, 1888.

[7] From the birth of Christ to about 450 A.D. Montelius, *La Suède Préhistorique*, p. 83.

[8] From 450 A.D. to 700 A.D., approximately. *Ibidem.*

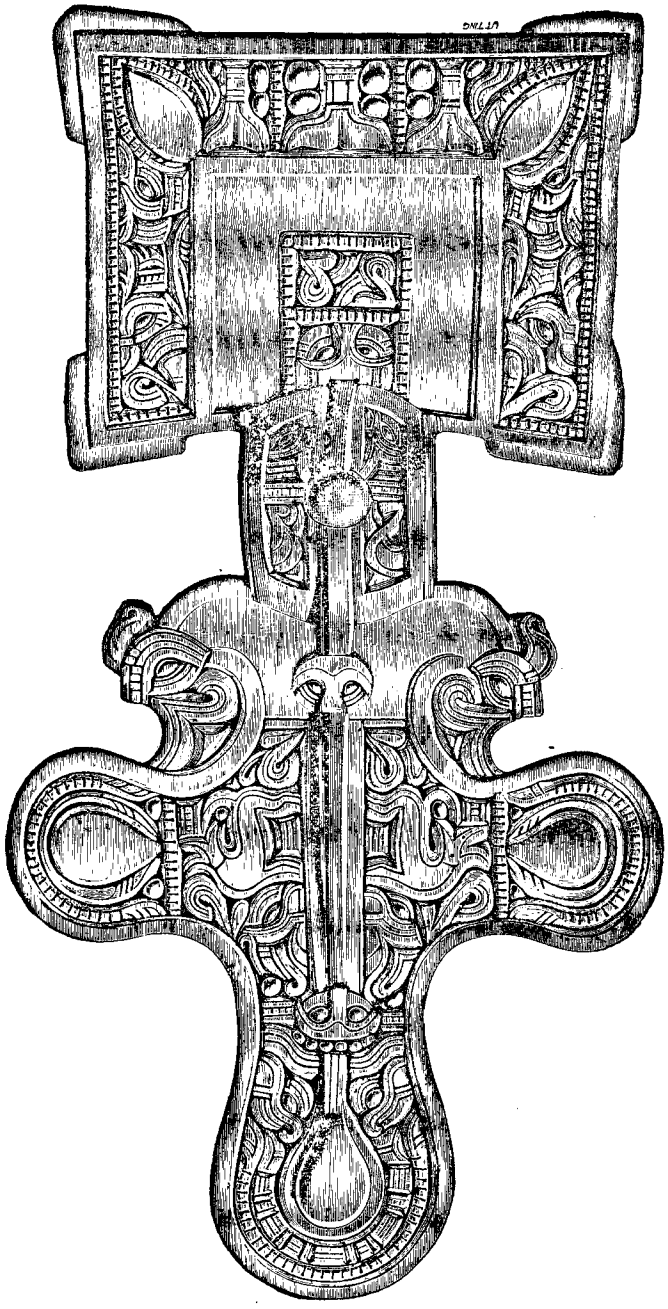

FIG. 11. FIBULA FROM RAGLEY PARK, WARWICKSHIRE.

These scientific conclusions, when applied to Anglo-Saxon industrial art, lead to the supposition that the simple cruciform fibulæ of the archaic type were introduced

into England at an earlier date than the square-headed fibulæ. The latter, being less ancient, presumably represent more recent burials in those cemeteries in which the two styles are found. There can be no doubt that the cemeteries of Little Wilbraham and Barrington were used for a considerable period. It would be incorrect, therefore, to assume that these fibulæ were peculiar to one district; they belong rather to a special period,[1] though certain archæologists have shown that they are commoner in the Midland counties than elsewhere.[2]

All the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have produced a few examples of the square-headed fibula, but this type is especially rare in the extreme north and in Kent. There are evident traces of an artistic influence of a purely local character. Thus there is a strong contrast between the fibulæ of Chessell Down, drawings of which we have taken from the British Museum (pl. vii., figs. 2 and 6), and those from the Cambridgeshire cemeteries (pl. iii., figs. 1, 3, and 4). The latter are more massive, and more fantastically irregular in their style of decoration.

Some small specimens are represented (pl. vii., figs. 2 and 5) alongside of the larger fibulæ. There are a few in existence, however, which are of exceptionally large dimensions, a remarkable example of which we give (natural size) at fig. 11.

This extraordinary fibula of bronze gilt was found at Ragley Park, Warwickshire.[3] Two very similar brooches were discovered at Norton, Northamptonshire,[4] and at St. Nicholas, Warwick.[5]

Four fibulæ in bronze gilt,[6] belonging to the same category, were found, amongst many others, in the cemetery of Little Wilbraham. One of these four was exhumed from a grave which contained, in addition, eight beads, portions of two other fibulæ, a pair of bronze girdle-pendants, a spear, a knife, an iron ring, and two finger-rings in silver.[7]

Mr. Wylie mentions a large number of fibulæ as coming from Fairford, but only two of them belong to the type under discussion. Mr. Wylie is of opinion that these fibulæ, which he styles double fibulæ,[8] marked the military rank, or social position, of the wearer.[9] One of them was lying on the breast of a skeleton.

[1] "Saxon antiquities will be invested with a novel and higher interest if they should be found to carry in their form and character certain peculiarities which suggest earlier and later dates, and a diversity of parentage" (Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xii.)

[2] *Archæologia*, vol. xliv., description of pl. xviii.

[3] "On an Anglo-Saxon Brooch found in Ragley Park," *Archæologia*, vol. xliv., pl. xviii.

[4] *Archæologia*, vol. xli., pl. xxii.

[5] *Archæological Journal*, vol. ix., p. 179.

[6] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pls. ii., v., vi., and x.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 15.

[8] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, pls. ii. and iii.

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 23.

Similar fibulæ have been found at Barrington; one specimen, admirably gilt, and decorated in a most complicated and curious fashion, is in the collection of Mr. Conybeare.[1] Another, from the same spot (pl. vii., fig. 3), was found on the left shoulder of a skeleton, together with two saucer-shaped or concave fibulæ of bronze, which still preserved some traces of gilding. This rich grave also yielded an iron knife, a silver bracelet,[2] and a few glass and amber beads scattered over the upper part of the body.[3]

A skeleton discovered by Mr. Neville in the cemetery of Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire, bore on its left breast a fibula belonging to the class with which we are dealing. The grave contained a wooden bucket with bronze hoops, two large circular fibulæ, also of bronze, and one hundred and fourteen glass and amber beads, scattered irregularly over the clavicles.[4] Mr. Akerman, who has carefully examined this fibula, considers it far superior in execution to any other of its class.

Archæologists are generally of opinion that these fibulæ were cast. The incised decoration, added after the casting, varied in every instance, imparting to each reproduction an artistic peculiarity which distinguished it from the original model. If this be so, we can understand why these fibulæ, while resembling each other strongly in general outline, are never exactly alike. Mr. Akerman looks upon the Linton Heath fibula as a prototype, and its regularity of ornamentation and delicacy of workmanship seem to entitle it to this distinction. Mr. Akerman has no hesitation in comparing it with the Fairford fibulæ.[5]

To the same archæologist we owe our acquaintance with the fibula from Billesdon, Leicestershire, now in the Leicester Museum. It is of an inferior quality of bronze, much used in Anglo-Saxon art-work. The surface was thinly plated with gold, and certain portions were decorated with a plating of silver, now almost entirely destroyed by oxidation. The ornamentation of this fibula is less fanciful than is usual with this type, but as a whole it is not devoid of interest.[6]

A recent purchase has enriched the British Museum with a splendid series of Anglo-Saxon objects from Kenninghall, Norfolk. This collection, of which no description has yet been published, includes three square-headed fibulæ, one of which, by the kindness of Mr. Charles Read, we are enabled to reproduce (pl. vi., fig. 3).

[1] *Report Presented to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, No. xxiii., pl. viii. Cambridge, 1883.
[2] Bracelets are excessively rare in Anglo-Saxon graves.
[3] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 159, and pl. xxxiii.
[4] *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., p. 95.
[5] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxvii.
[6] *Ibidem*, pl. xiv.

This example is interesting, as showing that the lower part of the square-headed fibula is not always lozenge-shaped, with a tendency to become cruciform.

It is impossible to enumerate all the known specimens of the class to which the above-mentioned fibulæ belong. We will only mention in addition the Sporle fibula[1] in the Norwich Museum, six others found at Chessell Down[2] (pl. vii., figs. 2 and 6), and the fibula from Marston Hill, Warwickshire.[3]

CUPELLIFORM OR SAUCER-SHAPED FIBULÆ.

Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have furnished an interesting series of fibulæ which are specially characteristic, and which we look for in vain in the other European countries invaded by the Barbarians. These fibulæ are confined to Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire.[4]

As we see, they belong exclusively to the West Saxons, and they are specially interesting on the ground both of their execution and of their origin. Mr. Wright has found occasion, in dealing with these remarkable objects, to express his regret that the traces left by the Anglo-Saxons had not been more carefully studied. The circular form, concave like a saucer, has earned for these fibulæ in England the title of *dish-shaped* or *saucer-shaped*[5]—a name which very fairly describes their peculiarity, and which may be rendered in French *concave*, or *cupelliforme*.

These fibulæ are always of bronze or of copper. The edge is plain and undecorated, while the centre is ornamented with designs of an essentially Saxon character.[6]

A play of light was reflected from the polished border upon the glittering incised work in the centre, the decoration of which invariably consisted of rudely engraved outlines of the human face, or of animals, executed in the same style as the cruciform fibulæ.

Saucer-shaped fibulæ may be divided into two categories, according to the method of manufacture.

The first are cast in one piece, while the centre is decorated with incised work.

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxiv.

[2] British Museum.

[3] *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., pl. xiii.

[4] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 483.—Mr. Roach Smith, in the preface to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (p. xiv), adds Berkshire.

[5] The period of Saxon graves containing circular concave fibulæ is from the fifth to the seventh century approximately.

[6] In every instance the iron acus is destroyed.

In the second category the ornamental portion consists of a thin plate of bronze gilt, which is applied by a further process. The added portion was probably decorated by hammer-work, the design differing in every specimen,[1] notwithstanding their general similarity of character. It was presumably soldered to the bronze, for there is no trace of rivets. The fibulæ thus constructed in two portions are rarer than those with incised decoration in the solid bronze.

The peculiar shape of these ornaments, and the fact that they were generally found in pairs, have led to the belief that they were scales, and Mr. Neville, who bought, at the Stowe sale, some fibulæ found at Ashenden, mentions that they were described in the catalogue as antique scales.[2] There is, however, no foundation for this idea.

Among the saucer-shaped fibulæ from the cemetery of Fairford, Gloucestershire, we must refer specially to one, the decoration of which is quite exceptional.[3] The design is in the form of a wheel, surrounded by an interlaced border, while between each radial line is a T-shaped ornament. This style of decoration is thoroughly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons.

Mr. Müntz has recognised it in their manuscripts,[4] and it has also been found on ornaments older than, or contemporaneous with, these manuscripts.

Interlaced ornament was employed by all the Barbarian tribes, but the T, as a decorative motive, is confined exclusively to the Anglo-Saxons. Its introduction in their goldsmiths' work may be the result of a special artistic inspiration, or of individual taste, or it may be due to their inability to give a proper rendering of the features of the human face. Though it is difficult to give a decided opinion as to its origin, it must be noted that the T-shaped decoration is common to their goldsmiths and their scribes. The ever-perplexing study of the arts, as practised by the various Barbarian nations, demands the grouping together of the characteristics common to all the Germanic tribes; but at the same time the features peculiar to certain nationalities are of equal importance.

Mr. Akerman is of opinion that this form of decoration still requires explanation; but an examination of the Fairford fibula[5] suggests the thought that it was intended to convey an idea of the principal lines of the human face.

The question lies rather within the province of a numismatist familiar with the

[1] Foster, *Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington*, p. 10.

[2] These fibulæ are illustrated by Akerman in his *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, and by Wright in *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.*

[3] *Fairford Graves*, pl. iii., fig. 4.

[4] Müntz, *Études Iconographiques et Archéologiques*, 1re Série. Paris, 1887.

[5] Engraved in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiv., pl. xx.

debased artistic types observable in the ancient coins of Barbarian or semi-Barbarian states.[1] This very design, for instance, is found on coins of Mercia dating back to a period prior to that of the similarly decorated fibulæ.

The ornament resembling a T seems to be a rudimentary representation of the human face. The two branches of the T curve inwards, each underlined, as a rule, by a circle or a point. In some cases the base of the T ends in a bar,[2] or a lozenge-shaped ornament,[3] rudely suggesting a mouth. These indications are crude and vague, but they lend a certain probability to the idea that it was an attempt to portray the human face.[4]

In the rich series of fibulæ found at Fairford specimens of this type of decoration can be seen in all stages of debasement. Rude outlines of the human face are the starting-point for a succession of modifications which end in the simple representation of the letter T. Anglo-Saxon scribes and jewellers alike have always shown them-

FIG. 12. COIN OF KING OFFA.

selves inept, even incapable, when they attempted to portray the human features. The celebrated manuscript[5] which has recently been placed in the national library is a sufficient proof of this. Certain capital letters, composed of interlaced ornament in the form of animals, ending in clumsy attempts at the human face, betray the same handiwork, and are on the same artistic level as the incised decoration forming the centre of several of the Fairford fibulæ. The style of ornamentation in these fibulæ also permits the use of lattice-work[6] and spirals.[7]

The celebrated cemetery of Fairford (Gloucestershire) has produced a considerable number of concave fibulæ. They include every style of decoration, from rudely

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of pl. xix.

[2] See the details of the elongated fibulæ illustrated in *Fairford Graves*, pl. iii., fig. 2.

[3] *Ibidem*, pl. iii., fig. 5.

[4] The T-shaped ornament is, not improbably, a variant of the Thor's hammer before referred to, in which case the simpler forms would be the older, and those approaching more nearly to the outlines of the human face would be the later and the degraded forms.—*Translator.*

[5] An Hiberno-Saxon Manuscript, copied by Holcundus, attributed to the eighth century.

[6] *Fairford Graves*, p. 16, pl. iii., fig. 4.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 14, pl. v., fig. 3.

executed human heads, bordered by different designs, up to varied combinations of geometrical figures and gracefully entwined spirals.

The learned explorer of the Fairford cemetery recognises the necessity of seeking, in each locality, the predominant type of arms and ornaments; and, indeed, this is the most efficacious method of arriving at a knowledge of special tribal characteristics. The invaders, whether known as Angles, Saxons, or Jutes, were, in reality, an amalgamation of many tribes, associated only for the purpose of ensuring a successful issue to their incursions, and of sharing the spoils. It is therefore by no means unusual to observe, either in arms or ornaments, often in both, a preponderance of a special type in one locality, as compared with similar objects found elsewhere. At Fairford, for instance, the fibulæ discovered in the graves of persons of high rank are, as a rule, of the saucer-shaped class. They were always found in pairs, generally one on each breast, but occasionally both were worn on the same side.[1] English archæologists have been unable hitherto to assign the Fairford cemetery to any tribe with certainty. Some consider it to be Saxon, while others attribute it to the Angles of Mercia.[2]

Mr. Wylie mentions that the saucer-shaped fibulæ were found indifferently in the graves of men[3] and women.[4] One of the fibulæ figured on page 58 (fig. 14), the centre of which is decorated with a star, came from the grave of a male, and is one of a pair, which were worn one on each breast. This grave contained, in addition, an amber bead of large size, placed near the hips, a large number of small beads in amber and glass scattered over the body, and an iron dagger-blade, while a very interesting vase, of yellow glass, had been placed near the skull.

The other fibula (fig. 13), which is in excellent preservation, and admirably gilt, was one of a pair found with a female skeleton.

The use of the spiral in decoration is very rare in Anglo-Saxon art. Mention

[1] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 23.

[2] "Whether the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fairford is to be ascribed to the West Sexe, or to the Angles of Mercia, may be questioned; and it is possible it may have been used by both people in succession. The antiquarian evidence, however, seems to us in favour of its Mercian attribution, and of its belonging to the Pagan period. Christianity had been introduced into Wessex in 635, and finally established in that kingdom in 646 A.D. The conversion of Mercia was at a somewhat later period. In 653, two years before the death of Penda, Peada his son had been baptized, and Christianity was first preached among the Mercians, under Diuma, the Scot, who in 655 became their first bishop. Twenty-five years, however, elapsed before the Mercian kingdom, under Æthelred in 680, was divided into five dioceses, of which the sub-kingdom of the Hwiccas, with its see at Worcester, formed one. During the whole of this period Christianity was doubtless spreading more and more among the people; but many pagan customs certainly survived" (*Crania Britannica*, "On an Anglo-Saxon Skull from Fairford").

[3] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 16.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 14.

should be made, however, of a fibula from Brighthampton,[1] Oxfordshire (pl. viii., fig. 4), ornamented with spirals similar to those referred to above.

Mr. Wylie notes also certain fibulæ decorated with grotesque faces, and designs which resemble characters in Oriental writing.[2] Mr. Akerman illustrates nine saucer-shaped fibulæ from Fairford.[3] He states that they appear to have been silvered at the back, where the acus was affixed. The gilding of the front portions is executed with extreme care, and is exceedingly well-preserved, owing to the hollow form of these ornaments.

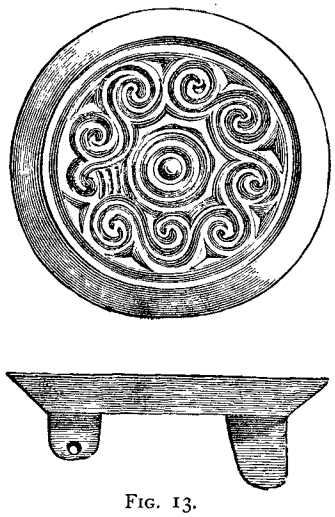

Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

Fibulæ from Fairford, Gloucestershire.

We have said that all the Fairford fibulæ were placed on or near the breast. This custom is apparently peculiar to the locality, for at Harnham [4] and other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries they were placed above the shoulders, of which fact additional proof is afforded by the presence of traces of oxide of copper on the clavicles.

ANNULAR FIBULÆ.

Several groups of circular fibulæ have been noted in the districts to the north of Kent. There exists another type, though comparatively an unimportant one, to

[1] Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
[2] *Fairford Graves*, p. 15, pl. iii., figs. 2 and 5.
[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xix.
[4] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., pl. xii.

which but little attention has been given hitherto. These fibulæ, which are generally of a very simple character, are called by some archæologists *annular*. They consist of a bronze ring, usually flat, the centre of which was filled by the folds of the dress, while the acus crossed the whole width of the brooch. The ring generally formed a complete circle, but in a few exceptional cases it consisted of a curved metal rod, the extremities of which received some slight decoration.

Plate ix., which is devoted to annular fibulæ, reproduces specimens of the simplest, together with some of the most elaborate type. The care brought to bear on the manufacture and decoration of these latter shows that this form of ornament had been adopted by the richer class. The copies or imitations of the modest bronze brooches, executed in precious metals, adorned with incised work, with filigree, and

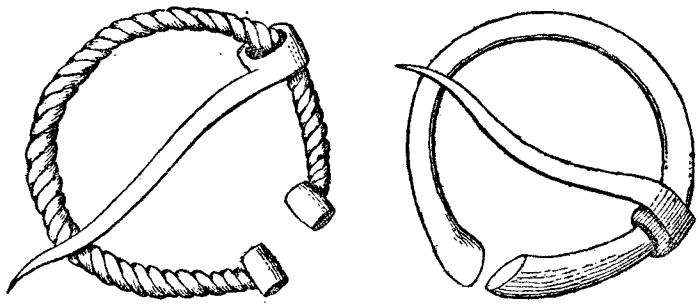

FIG. 15. FIBULÆ FROM LIVONIA, RUSSIA.

sometimes even with substances of great rarity (pl. ix., figs. 5 and 8), prove conclusively that annular fibulæ were not worn only by the poor.

Observant English archæologists have remarked that the penannular fibula is unknown in Frankish barrows.[1] A few specimens, however, have been taken from certain cemeteries in Livonia (Russia), two examples of which, borrowed from the work of M. Bähr,[2] we here reproduce.

From the Fairford cemetery come eight fibulæ of this type, in bronze, bronze plated with tin, white metal and silver. Two of these are given in pl. ix., figs. 3 and 4. The first is one of a pair found on the same skeleton. In all these specimens the decoration is of the simplest character.[3]

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of pl. xviii. M. F. Moreau, however, figures a fibula of this kind, coming from Sablonnière, Aisne, under the following title, "Fibule en Bronze, dite Affique," *Album Caranda*, pl. i., fig. 16.

[2] J. K. Bähr, *Die Gräber der Liven*, Taf. viii. Dresden, 1850.

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxx., figs. 1 to 8.—Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, pl. vi. figs. 5 and 6.

The cemetery of Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire), which we have so often had occasion to mention, produced twelve annular fibulæ, forming six pairs, generally without ornament, and all of bronze (pl. ix., figs. 7 and 9). In two cases the iron acus was still intact.

Among fibulæ of this type, which are remarkable for their simplicity, must be placed those from Rugby, Warwickshire (pl. ix., figs. 1 and 6). The first of these (fig. 1), an incomplete circlet formed by the bending of a metal rod, is very similar in character to the two Livonian specimens from the British Museum to which we have referred above. The second (fig. 6) is very clumsy in execution, and may be compared with the Stowe Heath fibula[1] (pl. ix., fig. 2). The majority of the bronze annular fibulæ are characterised by this excessive simplicity. Those manufactured of the precious metals, and elaborately decorated, are very much rarer.

Mr. Akerman reproduces two specimens of the latter type, the decoration of which obviously owes its existence to the artistic inspiration of the Kentish artificers. The first, the source of which is unknown, is a remarkable example of goldsmiths' work, and excels all known specimens in delicacy and finish. The gold plate is covered with filigree work, with the S decoration constantly repeated. The cloisons, which stand out from the surface, contain slabs of garnet and opaque stones of a greenish colour. The second fibula (pl. ix., fig. 5) is larger. When discovered the iron acus was still in existence, and traces of it are shown in a contemporary engraving of small merit.[2]

This ornament, together with some human remains, was found by a labourer in a gravel pit between Husband's Bosworth, Leicestershire, and Welford, Northamptonshire.

It consists of a circular plate of silver, to which are affixed two plates of gold, with filigree decoration, united by loops of gold wire. On these two semicircular plates four ivory bosses are inserted in sockets, with cable pattern borders,[3] and in the centre of each boss is set a thin circular garnet.[4]

Somewhat similar to the specimen above described is a fibula from Barrington, Cambridgeshire, formed of a thin silver disc, with a circular perforation in the centre. The acus is lost, but it is plain that it crossed the centre of the fibula vertically. On the upper surface of the disc is a series of very slight indentations, forming three concentric circles. This fibula, in all its essential characteristics,

[1] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., pl. xli.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815

[3] These bosses are very similar to those of the circular fibulæ peculiar to Kent. See pl. x

[4] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom.*

recalls the circular brooches found at Chavenage (Gloucestershire).[1] It has four buttons, irregularly placed, each composed of a round carbuncle, surrounded by a beaded border.[2]

Lastly, we must mention the fibula found at Stamford, Lincolnshire (pl. ix., fig. 8). This trinket is in white metal, gilt, and in perfect preservation. It is decorated with four stones resembling carbuncles, and the upper surface is covered with interlaced work of the most irregular character. The back is entirely devoid of decoration.[3]

There are a few other fibulæ which form a variety of this type. In this group

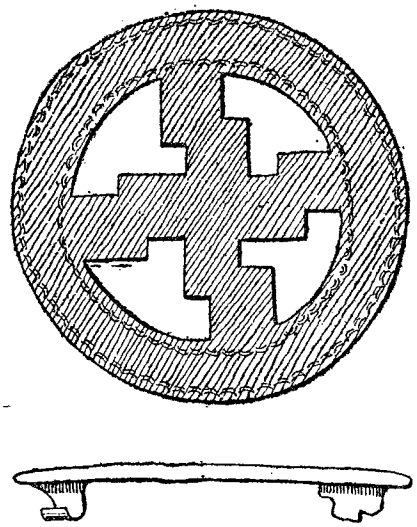

FIG. 16. FIBULA FROM SLEAFORD, LINCOLNSHIRE.

the central space, which is left open in the true annular fibulæ, is occupied by a cross *patée*, or with equal arms, cut out in the metal. Several specimens were found at Little Wilbraham[4] and Sleaford,[5] of which we reproduce one of the latter, from the British Museum collection.

A similar fibula was discovered at Islip,[6] Oxfordshire.

[1] Engraved in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. iv., p. 51, figs. 2 and 3.
[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1870, vol. v., series ii., p. 14.
[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xii., p. 26.
[4] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. iii., figs. 3 and 116.
[5] G. W. Thomas, "Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford," *Archæologia*, vol. l., p. 12, No. 95.
[6] *Proceedings of the Antiquarian Society*, 2nd series, vol. ix., p. 90.

KENTISH CIRCULAR FIBULÆ.

All the efforts of archæological research have not as yet produced in any one country a collection of fibulæ to be compared with the productions of Anglo-Saxon art. We have still to describe the circular fibulæ discovered in the cemeteries of Kent, to which county and the Isle of Wight they are almost exclusively confined. There is indeed no difference of opinion as to their rarity in other parts of England.[1] The preponderance of these highly artistic ornaments in certain cemeteries is very marked. Many of them are extremely tasteful in design and decoration, and give evidence of the most careful workmanship. They are a standing proof of the falsity of the theory taught in English schools, that there was no Anglo-Saxon civilisation.

The costume worn by the nations of classic antiquity is revealed to us, in its minutest details, by ancient writers, mummies, sculptures, and frescoes. On the other hand, we have no such sources of information with regard to the Anglo-Saxons, and must look to the remains exhumed from their graves as the only means by which we can obtain a fairly true insight into their customs.[2]

The writers of the Roman decadence often mention golden fibulæ, set with precious stones.[3] Spartianus, a writer of the time of Diocletian, deplores the ever-increasing love of gorgeous jewellery, and regrets the simplicity of the tunics of Hadrian. He records with delight the disdain of that prince for showy ornaments.[4]

Pollio Trebellius represents Gallienus as steeped in luxury, and adorning his person with fibulæ set with glittering gems.[5] Vopiscus, discussing the effeminate habits of Carinus, refers in like manner to his habit of wearing jewellery of a similar character.[6] No indication is given in these ancient authors of the origin of this fashion, but enough is said to show that these sumptuous ornaments were not products of Roman art. Pollio Trebellius, indeed, mentions a fact which clearly establishes their foreign origin. He relates that Claudius the Goth, before his accession to the throne, wrote to Regillianus in Illyria, asking him to send him some Sarmatian bows,

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 478.

[2] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities from Faversham*, p. xiii.

[3] All the Kentish circular fibulæ are decorated with precious stones or with glass.

[4] "Sine gemmis fibulas stringeret" (Spartianus, *In Hadriano*).

[5] "Cum chlamyde purpurea, gemmatisque fibulis et aureis visus est . . . . gemmato balteo usus est caligas gemmatas annexuit" (Pollio Trebellius, *In Gallieno*).

[6] "Habuit gemmas in calceis: nisi gemmata fibula usus non est" (Vopiscus, *In Carino*).

and two cloaks with their fibulæ.[1] It is plain that the reference here was to ornaments in use in the province where Regillianus commanded. We know nothing of the form and style of manufacture of these fibulæ, though they were undoubtedly different from those usually worn in the later days of the Empire. It is fair to presume, however, that the art of Byzantium had influenced, to some extent, the productions of the Teutonic tribes; but it is at least as certain that the Romans had borrowed certain customs and certain artistic ideas from their tributaries.[2]

Contact with the Barbarians undoubtedly exercised some influence on the goldsmiths' work of the Romans, and even if this were a contested point, it is certain that jewels of Barbarian origin were worn by personages of the highest rank. The poet Corippus thus describes the dress of Justinus II.: "A purple robe, flowing from the shoulders, drapes the person of Cæsar. It is fastened by the pin of a fibula, the chains of which are glittering with precious stones, a trophy of his victory over the Goths."[3]

Mr. Roach Smith, in several of his works, compares the circular fibulæ of Kent to the brooches of similar character found in Frankish cemeteries.[4] The Kentish ornaments, however, are sufficiently different in decoration and execution from those of the Continent for us to recognise in them an original style which, at that period, had no counterpart among other nations. By way of illustrating this difference we give a drawing of a circular fibula (pl. x., fig. 9), reputed to be a Frankish importation into England, and found in Kent in company with other fibulæ of the same shape. It is in silver, set with slabs of garnet, and was exhumed at Faversham. In this locality, at Chessel Down, and in other places, intercourse with the Franks is shown only by importations of this nature.

It seems probable that the circular fibulæ of Kent are of local manufacture; though Mr. Roach Smith does not consider that the fact is conclusively proved.[5] Mr. Smith asks, whether these precious ornaments were made in the country inhabited by the Saxons, or were simply imported, and, in the latter case, whence did they come?[6] He has not ventured on a decided answer, but he leans to the opinion that England could as well produce these remarkable fibulæ as other Saxon objects which are incontestably of native origin.

[1] "Arcus sarmaticos et duo saga ad me velim mittas, sed fibulatoria" (Pollio Trebellius, *In Regilliano*).

[2] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of the Abingdon fibula in pl. iii.

[3] Corippus, *De Laudibus Justini Minoris*, lib. ii., 118.

[4] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*

[5] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum*, pp. xiv, xv.

[6] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxiii.

Mr. Akerman is more decided in his view.[1] The magnificence of their goldsmiths' work proves, he thinks, that the Saxons, long before their conversion to Christianity, were already remarkably expert in the manufacture of these ornaments. The goldsmiths' craft was held in high esteem by all the Teutonic tribes. With the Burgundians, the blood money to be paid for the murder of a slave who was a worker in gold was more than was demanded for a freedman of ordinary rank.[2] The Anglo-Saxon poem which dilates on the various stations in life, and the special capacities required for them, lays particular stress on the privileged position occupied by the goldsmith;[3] nor are the interesting details there set forth to be regarded only as an effort of the poetic imagination. King Edgard, for instance, granted lands in perpetuity by special Charter to Ælfsige, his goldsmith.[4]

The inscription found on a stone at Vieux (Calvados)[5] enumerates, amongst the objects sent from Britain to Gaul as presents, a gold fibula set with precious stones.[6] We have here documentary evidence of the existence of a school of goldsmiths in Great Britain.[7]

M. Odobesco, who has made a special study of these questions, is disposed to consider the *cloisonné* jewellery of Kent as the production of a local industry, originating in the special art to which all branches of the Gothic race appear to have devoted themselves from their earliest appearance in Europe.

Circular fibulæ seem to have been especially feminine ornaments, and to have been worn on the bosom.[8] Mr. Roach Smith compares them to a similar

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of pl. xxix.

[2] "Qui aurificem lectum occiderit, cl, sol. solvat" (*Legis Burgundionum*, tit. x., c. 3).—"Si quis aliquem in populo nostro mediocrem c, pro minore persona, lxxv. solidis præcipimus numerare" (*Ibid.*, tit. ii., c. 2).—"Faber, aurifex aut spatarius qui publice probati sunt, si occidantur quadraginta solidos componatur. Si aurifex fuerit, quinquaginta solidos componatur" (*Ibid.*, cap. add. 44).—Compare *Leg. Anglorum et Werinorum*, tit. v., cap. 20.

[3] "For one of wondrous gift
A goldsmith's art
Is provided;
Full oft he decorates,
And well adorns
A powerful king's noble,
And he to him gives broad
Land in recompense."

Codex Exoniensis, Collection of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Manuscript in the library of the Dean of Exeter, with translation by Mr. Thorpe. Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, p. 331, 1842.

[4] *Registrum Wiltunense*, p. 42.

[5] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii., p. 95.

[6] "Fibula aurea cum gemmis."

[7] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.*

[8] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.*

jewel represented on the statue of a Roman lady, which is preserved at Mayence,[1] and concludes that we must seek the influence of the Romans in the art-work of the Anglo-Saxons.[2] This opinion is characteristic of a school which would find the source of Barbarian industries in Romano-Byzantine art. It is true that their common origin must occasionally render it difficult to discriminate between them, but the two currents, which had their starting-point in the East, have widened out under opposite influences and amid different surroundings, and have retained complete independence of each other. Is it not logical to conclude that Eastern conceptions would be understood and applied in a different sense by the inhabitants of the North? How can we expect to find an identical development of the same art among the Barbarians, endowed with all the vigour of a new race, and the effete Græco-Romans of the later Empire?[3]

Douglas, in his *Nenia Britannica*, has furnished us with some very valuable information in his notes on the Heppington (Kent) fibula. He considers that the various discoveries of these fibulæ in the Kentish barrows prove that these ornaments were exclusively worn by women. This view is confirmed by an ancient statue of Queen Ultragotha, wife of King Childebert,[4] in which the neck of the Queen is adorned with a fibula almost identical in dimensions with the circular specimen found at Heppington, near Canterbury. The fibula occupied the same position both in the statue and on the skeleton, and Douglas concludes that it was used to fasten the under garment (subucula) at the neck. The mortuary furniture of Heppington is attributed to the second half of the sixth century.[5]

Faussett's excavations, again, afford very strong evidence that these circular fibulæ are found almost exclusively in the graves of women.[6]

Mr. Roach Smith divides them into three categories. The first consists of brooches formed of two plates, placed one on the other. The upper surface is divided into cells, prepared to receive slabs of jewels or glass; the acus is fixed at the back. These fibulæ are the richest, and also the rarest productions of Anglo-Saxon art. We shall pay special attention to them when we come to deal with *cloisonné* jewellery in England.

[1] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., pl. xxx.

[2] Roach Smith, *Anglo-Saxon Antiquities from Faversham*, section ii., "Ornaments," p. xiii.

[3] "If the art of the Barbarians resembles in any sense that of the Byzantium of Justinian, the fact must be explained by community of origin rather than by any direct bond of dependence" (Salomon Reinach, *Catalogue du Musée des Antiquités Nationales*, p. 182).

[4] This statue was on the old tower of the church of St. Germain des Près, in Paris. According to Montfaucon, this church was founded by Childebert in 541.

[5] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. x.

[6] See the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*: Kingston Down, Nos. 161, 205, 299; Gilton, Nos. 19, 42, 87; Sibertswold, No. 101.

The second class is more common (pl. x., figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8). The principal part is a slightly concave disc of bronze or silver, into which is fitted another disc of gold, divided into cells. The latter is covered with geometrical figures, stars, and buttons, which vary in number in different specimens (pl. x., figs. 1 and 2).

Fibulæ of the third category are considerably simpler in character, and very abundant. The fibula is composed of a single metallic disc, ornamented with incised work, and set with stones (pl. x., figs. 3, 6, and 7).

From both the first and the second classes we should obtain much valuable assistance in the study of *cloisonné* jewellery. We shall, however, deal with the two last divisions in this place, reserving the first only for discussion under the head of the *cloisonné* work of Kent.

Plate x., fig. 1, represents a fibula in silver, with a gold plate decorated with filigree work and garnets, from Sibertswold. This specimen belongs to the second category of circular fibulæ. It was found near the neck of the skeleton, together with seventeen amethysts, the barrow containing, in addition, only one large bead, twenty-four smaller, and an ivory hair-pin.[1] Plate x., fig. 2, is borrowed from Douglas' work,[2] and represents a fibula formerly in Faussett's collection. The foundation of this ornament is in silver, covered with a plaque of gold, decorated with filigree-work. It is further ornamented with four hemispheres of mother-o'-pearl, one of which forms the central point of the brooch. Each of these bosses is surmounted by a garnet on gold foil. From the central boss radiate three triangles, set with slabs of garnets, at the apex of each of which is a circular garnet.

In order to give a more distinct idea of the class of ornament we will further mention a specimen from Chartham Down, which we also take from Douglas' book.[3] This fibula, like those above described, consists of a thick plate of silver, to which is fitted a smaller plate of gold, which is thus bordered by the silver. All these fibulæ have a more or less regularly beaded border, and are surrounded by a band decorated with niello in zigzags. The Chartham Down fibula is also ornamented with ivory buttons, to the number of five, the centre one being surrounded by garnets set in the gold. Each point of the central star is formed of precious stones, and terminates in a triangular piece of lapis lazuli.

Fig. 5, pl. x., differs in some points of composition from the preceding specimen, but the general idea is the same. In this piece, found at Wingham, near Sandwich, a disc of bronze is covered by a gold plaque, decorated with filigree.

[1] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 118, No. 101, and pl. ii., fig. 6.
[2] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. xxi., fig. 9, and p. 87.
[3] *Ibidem*, pl. v., fig. 1.

In the centre is a four-pointed star of *cloisonné* in coloured glass, garnets, and blue enamel, the last named in very bad preservation. Between each of the points is a stud inlaid in a circular plate of red glass. The central stud alone is ornamented with an uncut garnet.[1]

In the fibula from Ash (pl. x., fig. 8) the foundation is an alloy of silver, to which are affixed thin plates of gold. The centre consists of a very prominent ivory boss, surrounded by a cable-pattern ornament in silver. Garnets set in the gold, alternating with ivory buttons, and separated by S-shaped mouldings in relief in gold, compose the rest of the decoration.[2]

The number of fibulæ belonging to the second category is considerable. Douglas enumerates thirteen examples found in Kent; Faussett mentions several

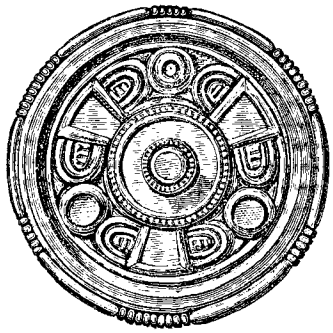

FIG. 17. FIBULA FROM FAVERSHAM (KENT).

others, recorded by Mr. Mayer, in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, and since that time discoveries have been so numerous that it would be impossible to give a correct list.

The third category, consisting of fibulæ made in one piece, is represented by figs. 3, 6, and 7 of pl. x. Fig. 3 is from the grave of a female at Gilton. It is of silver, ornamented with garnets set round a semi-spherical ivory boss, as is usual with this class, while between the stones is incised work, gilt.[3] The other two examples engraved (pl. x., figs. 6 and 7) come from Chatham[4] and Faversham[5] respectively. The latter place has furnished another specimen, which we reproduce here (fig. 17).

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xi., fig. 1.
[2] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. ix., fig. 2.
[3] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 16, and pl. ii., fig. 7.
[4] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. viii.
[5] South Kensington Museum.

The third category is very largely represented in the Gibbs collection at the South Kensington Museum. Several examples also are figured in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*[1] and in *Archæologia Cantiana.*

CLOISONNÉ JEWELLERY IN ENGLAND.

When Europe, invaded by the Barbarians, was freed from the Roman yoke, there dawned the era of a new type of goldsmiths' work;[2] classic art disappeared with great rapidity, or underwent a most violent and radical transformation.[3] The path of the migratory tribes can be traced throughout its length by discoveries of their artistic productions. The process, till then unknown, by which a metallic basis was covered with precious stones or other hard material, set in cloisons of various designs, superseded the Roman method of enamelling. Both styles had the same object in view, namely, to enhance the brilliancy of the metal by the aid of varying colours. To obtain this result the Barbarians had recourse to artistic methods which were in harmony with their tastes, thereby bringing about a complete change in the style of their trinkets.

Stones, either uncut or in slabs, set in the gold, or contained in delicate cloisons, replaced polychromatic enamels applied to the metal by various processes.

The most distinguished savants have attempted to explain the reason of this almost universal revolution, and several remarkable works have been published on the subject. In all probability this class of ornament is Scythian in its origin. At least it is the Scythian tribes who aided its development, and secured its lasting predominance. The *cloisonné* style thus adopted by the Gothic nations during the early centuries of the Christian era permeated all the countries of Europe. Under their influence it spread over the Continent from Novotcherkask in Russia to Petrossa in Roumania, thence to Kalocsa in Hungary, St. Moritz in Switzerland, Monza in Lombardy, Ravenna in Romagna, Charnay in Burgundy, Pouan in Champagne, Tournay in Belgium, Envermeu in Normandy; to Kent, to Gourdon in Aquitaine, to Guarrazar and Oviedo in Spain, and to many other places in

[1] Plates ii. and iii.

[2] "This class of goldsmiths' work is remarkable, among other special characteristics, for the employment of garnets, tabulated, lamellated, or occasionally uncut, sometimes simply set in the metal, sometimes disposed in symmetrical patterns, either in a bezel or in very delicate *cloisonné*" (*De Lasteyrie L'Orfèvrerie*, p. 67. Paris, 1877).

[3] A revolution alike moral, legal, and political signalises the epoch of the escape of Europe from the Western Empire. Radical in its effects on the people, it could not fail to be so also in their art.

Germany and Scandinavia. The East can justly claim in all these localities that she is the mother of their art.[1]

We may not have long to wait for proof that at a very early period invaders from the North introduced into many provinces of Central and Western Europe the taste for ornaments which are entirely Eastern in conception. This *cloisonné* work is, in our opinion, the first æsthetic manifestation of the Gothic nations. It is idle to seek its origin in the degradation and decrepitude of the classic art of Greece and Rome; still less can it be considered as directly borrowed from the civilised nations of the East. It is more reasonable to regard it as the adoption and improvement of a distinctive art, practised through long ages by the Barbarian tribes.[2] We cannot believe that these Northern races, with all the vigour of a young nation, but without artistic traditions, adopted slavishly, during their long sojourn at the gates of Asia, an art whose canons were already fixed and definite. It is at least certain that they did not copy the precious objects which were the fruit of their plundering raids on the nations of the East. These Barbarians, under the softening influence of contact with the civilised peoples of Persia, India, and Egypt, who already occupied a recognised position in the domain of art, created an industry peculiar to themselves, and utilised to that end the gold of the Rhiphæan mountains, and the precious stones of Persia and the neighbouring countries. These are the constituent elements of this sumptuous art, which was destined, in its later developments, to assume such importance. Its peculiarities are due not only to local influences, but also to the initiative of the Scythian goldsmiths, who, drawing their inspiration alike from the North, the South, and the extreme Orient, stamped all they touched with the mark of their own individuality. This *cloisonné* work, set with precious stones in a kind of mosaic, and combined at times with the most delicate filigree, is sufficiently characteristic to be remarkable in every country where it has left traces. Its technique and its constituent elements are easily recognisable.

Ornaments of this nature found in Barbarian cemeteries reach the highest point of luxury and refinement, and indicate the graves of the wealthy. This sumptuous art, however, so favoured in the country of its birth by the abundance of the rich materials needed, must have lost much of its splendour as it wandered farther afield.[3] The original idea, the style, the form, the processes of manufacture, survived for

[1] "The proof that this art, wrongly styled Merovingian or Germanic, is not of Western origin, is found in the fact that it left its traces in the valley of the Danube and in Hungary long before it became common in Gaul" (Reinach, *Catalogue du Musée de St. Germain*, p. 182).

[2] Odobesco, *Antiquités Scythiques*, chap. vi. Bucharest, 1879.

[3] "If the Goths, in this period of their power, used massive gold only . . . they were forced later to abandon this extravagance" (Henslmann, *Étude de l'Art Gothique*).

centuries, notwithstanding wars and migrations, but the raw material brought originally from the East became more and more scarce. Massive gold[1] was replaced by thin metal plates, often attached to a bed of mastic, which represented approximately the weight of the metal original. To garnets, turquoises, and other precious stones succeeded glass,[2] coloured to deceive the eye. The work of the Barbarian goldsmiths passed through these successive modifications, during the various stages of their wanderings, before their arrival on the Western confines of Europe; but the changes were limited to the material employed, and did not touch the style or the processes of manufacture.

While perpetuating its original characteristics, and retaining its essential unity of type, the *cloisonné* spread over widely distant regions, and adopted here and there certain local peculiarities.

It penetrated as far west as Kent and the Isle of Wight, where it became localised, and assumed a special character. These two localities form the extreme limits of the geographical area in which these ornaments are found. We may ask how it is that this jewellery, adopted and preserved with obvious care by the inhabitants of Kent, has been kept within these limits, has never become common, and has never penetrated into the other portions of Great Britain invaded by the Saxons.[3] Archæology sets us here a problem in ethnology of the most interesting nature, the solution of which demands the closest investigation.

Numerous discoveries attest the great development of *cloisonné* in Kent, where the Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths produced those splendid ornaments so thoroughly representative of the art.

We may therefore reasonably investigate the technique of the Kent *cloisonné*, shown in its most characteristic form in the circular fibulæ of Kingston,[4] Abingdon,[5] and Sittingbourne,[6] which, with some few other pieces, form the finest collection of ornaments of this type. These remarkable specimens are the highest expression of the art of *cloisonné*; Anglo-Saxon workmen, at least, have never produced anything superior to them. We have stated above that Mr. Roach Smith placed these brooches in the first category of Kentish circular fibulæ.[7]

[1] *Proceedings of the Congress of Buda Pesth*, p. 527.

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] Mr. Wright mentions, as an exception, a fibula found at Sutton, near Woodbridge, Suffolk. It is illustrated in the *Archæological Album.*

[4] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. i.

[5] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. iii.—*Archæological Journal*, vol iv., p. 253.—Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.—The two Abingdon fibulæ, one of which is preserved in London, the other at Oxford, are very similar.

[6] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxix., fig. 5.

[7] This category is the least numerous of the three.

They are composed of two plates of metal, placed one upon the other, and joined by a band of the thickness of the jewel. The acus is fixed at the back, and the front of the ornament is entirely covered with *cloisonné* work.[1]

When the Eastern Goths spread over Central and Western Europe, they introduced *cloisonné* work among all the Germanic races—Alemanni, Franks, Saxons, etc. This art, of which they were the founders, necessarily underwent certain

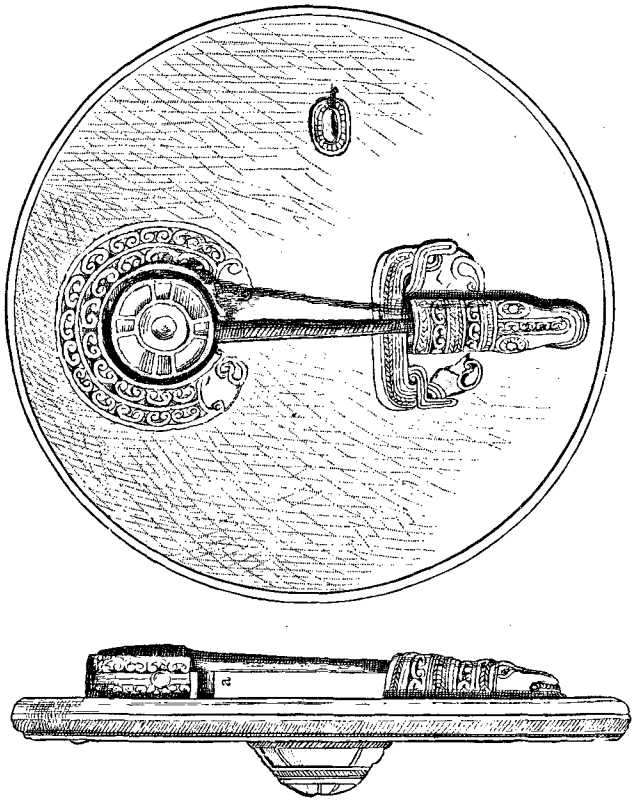

FIG. 18. BACK AND SIDE VIEW OF THE KINGSTON FIBULA.

modifications, according to the tastes, the material resources, and the distribution of these various nations. The style, at first thoroughly Eastern, and among the primitive Goths very ornate in form and in composition, gradually lost its strength and brilliancy, and when it reached England had arrived at its smallest dimensions.[2] The process, however, remained unaltered. In Kent the *cloisonné* work is on a

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities from Faversham.*

[2] The small size of the *cloisons* has been noticed, in the case of the Sittingbourne and Abingdon fibulæ, by Mr. Akerman in his description of pls. iii. and xxix. of the *Remains of Pagan Saxondom.*

very small scale, and the materials employed of little value; while the general effect is much less striking than in the Gothic ornaments of the South.

It is very improbable that the Jutes were the introducers of *cloisonné* work into Great Britain, for they could not have learnt it from the Gothic nations of the North. We are in full agreement with the opinion expressed by M. Odobesco, that the Eastern Goths[1] alone have handed on the knowledge of *cloisonné* work to the inhabitants of the North and West

The Kentish ornaments are characterised by remarkable regularity and symmetry of design. Concentric circles of decreasing diameter[2] contain cells of various shapes, fitted into one another with the greatest precision. The general scheme of decoration invariably takes the form of a more or less simple geometrical figure, resulting from the regular combination of these compartments.

But it is not only in style that the *cloisonné* of Kent resembles the numerous analogous productions found scattered over Europe; the materials themselves, garnets,[3] lapis lazuli,[4] ivory,[5] mother-o'-pearl,[6] turquoises,[7] and rubies,[8] are of Eastern origin. Thus the discoveries of archæology attest the importation of an Eastern industry into England, though the ancient texts are silent as to the existence of any intercourse between the Goths of the East and the inhabitants of Kent.

Towards the end of the last century Douglas, studying the magnificent fibula from Heppington, Canterbury,[9] was driven to look to the East for its origin. He recognised in this brooch all the characteristics of a Persico-Gothic style much appreciated in the Western Empire, and concluded that all these fibulæ were importations, the result of invasion or of commerce.[10] Since Douglas' period Anglo-Saxon archæology has made notable strides, but his conclusions have not in any degree lost their interest.

Minute descriptions of these magnificent ornaments have been given by various

[1] The Goths who issued from Russia are the only tribe, among their Barbarian contemporaries who have given proof of any artistic taste.

[2] In the Kingston fibula there are seven circles, divided into compartments, some containing filigree and others slabs of precious stones.

[3] Nearly all the circular fibulæ of Kent are ornamented with garnets, or with coloured glass, in imitation of those stones. M. Henslmann has remarked that the Goths had a very strong predilection for red stones.—*International Congress of Buda Pesth*, p. 527.

[4] Sittingbourne fibula.—*Archæological Index*, pl. xvi., and *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxix. —*Archæological Album*, pl. ii.—*Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i., pl. xxxvi.

[5] Fibulæ from Sittingbourne, Abingdon, and other places too numerous to mention here.

[6] Fibula from Kingston Down.—*Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. i., and p. 77.

[7] Fibulæ from Kingston Down, and from Minster, Kent.

[8] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.*

[9] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, 1793.

[10] *Ibidem.*

English writers, to whose works we must refer the reader, in order to avoid lengthy and unnecessary repetition.

We cannot, however, pass over one special peculiarity of the Kingston fibula, which belongs to the very highest type of *cloisonné* jewellery. On the back of the brooch is a projection, intended to catch the point of the acus, in the form of a grotesque animal's head, the eyes, nostrils, and neck of which are decorated with filigree work [1] (fig. 18). The same idea is seen in the splendid fibulæ of Wittislingen [2] and Nordendorf.[3] These heads of dragons and grotesque animals are generally indications of Gothic workmanship.

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxii, 1856.
[2] Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer* . . . Band iv., Taf. xxiv.
[3] Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, Taf. xx., 1886.

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CHÂTELAINES, OR GIRDLE-HANGERS.

AMONG the objects exhumed from Anglo-Saxon graves are certain bronze pieces, generally found in pairs near the waist of female skeletons.[1]

Anglo-Saxon ladies wore a very complicated dress, richly and elegantly ornamented. These bronze objects, called by English archæologists girdle-hangers, have attracted considerable attention. Nothing resembling them has been found in the cemeteries excavated on the Continent, nor has Kent furnished a single specimen. They belong, in fact, exclusively to the districts occupied by the Angles.

Plate xi. is devoted to these objects, but we only give a very limited number, in order to be able to reproduce them the natural size. Besides, all the known specimens are similar in their general outlines; it is only in the details that there is any variety. The shape of these objects at first suggested the idea that they might be keys; but this view had soon to be abandoned, the bronze not being sufficiently thick or strong for that purpose.

Mr. Roach Smith, who took a great interest in these mysterious articles, is of opinion that they are girdle-pendants, serving the same purpose as the modern châtelaine. He compares them to certain triangular plates, in open-work bronze, found in Germany, at Sinsheim[2] and Selzen.[3]

This comparison, however, would only be permissible if we could consider the German bronzes as mutilated specimens; as a matter of fact they have retained their original shape. Similar ornaments have been found on the banks of the Rhine and in France, and it is quite impossible to attribute to them the same *rôle* as that of the Anglo-Saxon bronzes of which we are speaking.

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 491.—Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v., p. 139.

[2] *Jahresbericht an die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft von R. Wilhelmi*, 1838.

[3] Lindenschmit, *Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen*, p. 25, 1848.—*Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. lvi., fig. 4.

Most archæologists are of opinion that these ornaments were the fastenings of a bag.[1] Mr. Wright believes them to have served this purpose, basing his view on the presence of holes in the extremities of certain specimens, these holes being at times even furnished with rings[2] (pl. xi., fig. 2). Mr. Thomas agrees, but argues from some new and very interesting observations.[3] He shows that five out of eight of the girdle-hangers coming from the cemetery of Sleaford were accompanied by certain small objects in bone or ivory, disposed in an incomplete circle, about nine centimetres in diameter near the upper part of the girdle-hanger. The presence of these small bone objects had not been previously noticed. These girdle-hangers, therefore, were probably the framework to which was attached a purse of stuff or of leather. The metal portion often shows traces of an adhesion of stuff,[4] and the decoration of the bronze is only on one side. Again, the perforations at the base, and especially at the angles, seem to show that the girdle-hangers were fastened to some textile fabric.

A good many specimens are figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*.[5] We reproduce the example from Searby (pl. xi., fig. 2), found close to the thigh-bone. The grave contained, in addition, a pair of quoit-shaped fibulæ, corresponding in position to the breasts, and a necklace of twenty or thirty glass and amber beads about the neck.

One of these pendants, exhumed without its fellow from the barrow of Sporle, near Swaffham, Norfolk, is also given in the same work. Châtelaines being rare, it may be useful to mention the localities in which they have been found; these are, in addition to those already cited, Stowe Heath,[6] Suffolk (pl. xi., fig. 1); Scaleby,[7] near Caistor, Lincolnshire; Little Wilbraham,[8] Cambridgeshire (pl. xi., fig. 3); a place not accurately specified in Leicestershire;[9] and Soham,[10] Cambridgeshire.

[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, vol. v., p. 496, 1873.

[2] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 491.

[3] G. W. Thomas, "On Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford, in Lincolnshire," *Archæologia*, vol. l., p. 4.

[4] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., p. 234.

[5] *Ibidem*, vol. ii., pls. xxxix., xli., lv., lvi.; vol. v., pl. xiii.

[6] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxix., fig. 2.

[7] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., pl. lv.

[8] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pls. xiii. and xiv.

[9] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 49.

[10] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, p. 496, 1873.

NECKLACES AND GLASS BEADS.

SEVERAL varieties of beads are included amongst the mortuary furniture of Anglo-Saxon barrows. Even the most modern are undoubtedly of older date than the introduction of Christianity, and those found in the graves of Saxons who had been converted to the new religion must be referred to a period earlier than that of the burial. Many pagan superstitions still lingered among the new converts, and these beads retained their mysterious prestige in the eyes of the Barbarians, and had lost none of their miraculous virtue.[1]

In the opinion of Mr. Wright the many varieties exhumed from Anglo-Saxon barrows are composed in part of Roman specimens of the commonest type, and in part of beads which undoubtedly belong to Anglo-Saxon art. The manufacture of Roman beads no doubt continued after the colonisation of Great Britain by the Anglo-Saxons, and Mr. Wright has satisfied himself of the existence of every variety in Saxon cemeteries. Glass beads certainly belong originally to Roman art. The beads in terra cotta or faïence, incrusted with vitreous substances, are undoubtedly of Anglo-Saxon origin, and are necessarily in various styles. These brilliant incrustations are in many colours, and are executed with excellent taste.[2]

Some archæologists have remarked the resemblance between the necklaces of glass beads from Barbarian graves and those coming from Asia and Africa. The famous traveller Masson has noted the analogy between the beads exhumed in Saxon cemeteries and those of the mounds of Northern India. Mr. Roach Smith is prepared to attribute these objects to importation from the East.[3] Pollio Trebellius mentions a large trade in beads, which he calls *gemmæ vitreæ*, or *bullæ vitreæ*.[4]

Glass beads are sometimes transparent, sometimes opaque; occasionally transparent in part only. Those of medium size are of every possible shape—rounded, flat, or conical, cylindrical, oblong, or square; they vary as much in

[1] "Remarks on a Coloured Drawing of some Ancient Beads executed by B. Nightingale," *Archæologia*, 1851.

[2] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 426.

[3] Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xxxvi.—*Faversham Catalogue*, p. xvi.

[4] Pollio Trebellius, *De Gallieno*.—Claud., *Epigramm. de Crystallo*.

colour as in form.[1] There is no doubt that they were used, as Mr. Wright says, to form necklaces, which were worn by both sexes.[2]

Certain other beads of exceptionally large size have also been discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves. These specimens are not apparently connected with the smaller varieties by any intermediate gradations in size. Archæologists, therefore, who have found them in the Barbarian cemeteries of the Continent have not hesitated to place them in a separate category.

Archæologists have often mistaken for necklace beads a class of objects which while they are similar in appearance, are not identical in shape. They are less regular than the rounded beads intended to be seen from all sides, and, though larger, they cannot be compared with those intended for use in necklaces. They

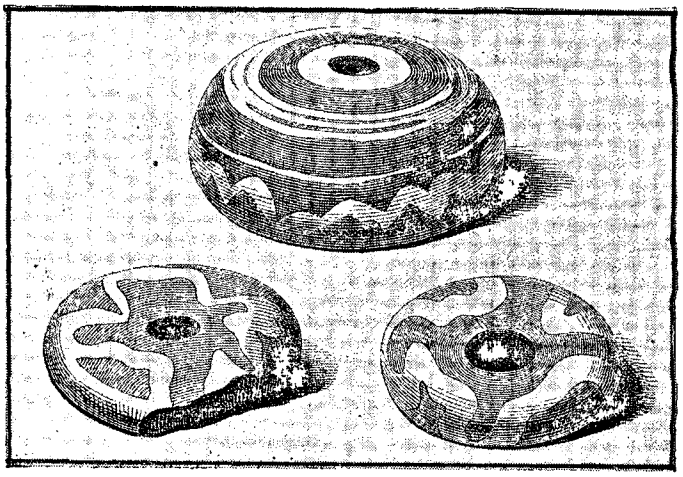

FIG. 19. BEADS FROM SIBERTSWOLD, KENT.

are semi-spherical, the rounded side being covered with ornament, while the flat surface is quite plain. This arrangement clearly indicates that the object was intended to be attached to the clothing, so that the portion which was decorated like the beads was alone visible. A hole drilled through the centre rendered the fixing of these ornaments an easy matter.[3] Messrs. Wylie, Akerman, and Chiflet, and some other antiquaries, regard these large glass beads as amulets or talismans.[4] Baudot, however, as the result of his own observations, preferred to regard them as a

[1] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 115.

[2] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 189.

[3] Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares de l'Époque Mérovingienne*, p. 62.

[4] Mr. Wylie remarks on the rarity and the interesting nature of a large bead in greenish glass which he found near the hand of a skeleton (*Fairford Graves*, p. 14). The grave of a warrior also contained an amulet bead of green and bluish glass (*Ibidem*, p. 20).

kind of button employed to fasten the garment, and it is quite possible that they have been occasionally used instead of fibulæ for this purpose. With fastenings of this character, a loop of cord or a simple button-hole would suffice to hold the robe firmly. The explorer of the Charnay cemetery has called attention to the absence of fibulæ from the graves containing these large glass beads, which he calls buttons, while Douglas had long before expressed almost the same opinion.

These large beads are about eight centimetres in diameter. Some few specimens, transparent, with opaque white decoration, and others with circular yellow lines on a black ground, have a perforation of exceptional size. They have apparently been used as buttons, to fasten the folds of the garment.[1]

We figure on the previous page three of these beads from Sibertswold Down, Kent. They are found exclusively in the graves of females.[2]

Anglo-Saxon cemeteries contained beads of various materials, as is shown by the excavations of Faussett. Amber, glass, both transparent and opaque, clays of different colours, crystal, amethystine quartz, and even silver, were employed in their manufacture.[3] Besides these varieties, Douglas mentions a row of garnet beads, and others made from shells. The latter, which are of Eastern origin, are generally from a shell of the genus Cyprea.[4]

The abundance of amber beads in Anglo-Saxon graves is a fact beyond dispute ;[5] they vary, however, very much in size and shape, being sometimes round, at others lozenge-shaped, square, or flat.[6] The decomposition, however, which has taken place on the surface of the material has destroyed their transparency, their lustre, and their polish. These amber beads, unless found singly, formed a part of the necklace.

Tacitus states that amber was collected on the shores of the Baltic by the Germanic tribes, who were astonished at the high prices they obtained for it.[7] Pliny also tells us that it was largely employed by the Romans in the manufacture of jewellery. It was held in high estimation by the Roman ladies, though Pliny seems unable to assign any reason for their preference.[8] These beads were not only used as ornaments, but were also talismans for protection from danger,

[1] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 114.

[2] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 108, Nos. 30 and 31.

[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xvi, *et seq.*

[4] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 115.

[5] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxvi.

[6] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 114.

[7] Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum*, xlv.

[8] "Proximum locum in deliciis, feminarum tamen adhuc tautum, succina obtinent eademque omnia hac quam gemma auctoritatem," etc., (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. xxxvii., cap. 9).

and especially against witchcraft. Mr. Wright has frequently noticedin Anglo-Saxon graves a single amber bead, hung round the neck, or placed near the head of the corpse,[1] and it is probable that this practice was very general, for St. Eloi enjoined on women not to wear amber beads in this manner.[2]

Beads in amethyst are very frequently found in England, and especially in Kent.[3] A barrow explored at Breach Down, in the village of Barham, near Canterbury,[4] contained a complete necklace composed of eighteen beads of amethystine quartz. This example has been reproduced by Akerman.[5] Beads of this substance are constantly found in Kent; for example, one necklace composed of various materials contained eleven of them.[6] Douglas calls them *native* amethysts, but Akerman, relying on a chemical analysis, asserts that there is good reason for believing them to be of Transylvanian origin. It must be admitted, however, that amethystine quartz of the same character is found at Oberstein in Germany. These beads, and the crystal balls of which we have next to treat, are drilled with extreme regularity,[7] the perfection of their workmanship indicating an advanced stage of the lapidary's art.[8]

CRYSTAL BALLS.[9]

The oldest mention of crystal balls coming from Anglo-Saxon graves is in Douglas,[10] who attempts to prove that they were used for occult purposes. Mr. Roach Smith, however, is of opinion that all the objects exhumed are capable of a perfectly simple explanation, and sees no reason to seek for any exceptional interpretation in the case of articles the use of which is somewhat less obvious, or to assign to them any fanciful *rôle*.[11] The crystal balls which have formed the subject of

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 489.

[2] Dom Grenier, Introduction to the *Histoire Générale de la Picardie*, p. 315.

[3] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii., p. 149, 1855.

[4] *Ibidem*, vol. xxx., p. 47.

[5] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. v.

[6] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 35, pl. ix., fig. 1, and p. 46, pl. xii., figs. 1 and 3.

[7] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxvi.

[8] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 9.

[9] Douglas' note on pp. 14 and 15 of *Nenia Britannica* puts the case so strongly, in favour of the crystal ball being used for magical purposes, that it is certainly not to be disposed of by the somewhat summary methods of Mr. Roach Smith. Douglas points out, that it was employed for purposes of divination—a use which certainly lasted into the middle ages in Europe among the practitioners of the occult sciences. It was also so used in Japan and the Far East generally, and magic crystals may still, with difficulty, be obtained in those regions.—*Translator.*

[10] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. iv., fig. 8.

[11] Roach Smith, Preface to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxxvii.

Douglas' long dissertation are merely ornaments intended to be hung from the waist, or worn in some other way.[1] After a comparison of similar examples from Oberflacht (Swabia) with those discovered in England, and especially in Kent, Wylie pronounces them to be amulets. The poem of Beowulf gives an illustration of the Teutonic belief in their virtue. One of these talismans, we read, was attached to the crest of the helmet, to neutralise the force of the enemy's blows,[2] and it seems probable that this marvellous protector was a ball or a bead of some kind. This theory appears to obtain some confirmation from the fibula in the Wiesbaden Museum, from which a pendant of crystal is suspended by wire fastenings. These objects have retained their magical reputation even in modern times. They are supposed to have the power of stanching the flow of blood, for which reason they are known as *blut-stein*. The *Kormak Saga* also speaks of an amulet called the stone of life.[3] Akerman considers crystal balls to be talismans,[4] necessarily of different forms; sometimes the mineral was simply polished, and suspended by fastenings of iron or silver,[5] while other specimens are cut with facets, and drilled for purposes of suspension. We will first mention the best-known examples of the former class. The ball from Kingston Down, Kent,[6] quoted by Mr. Roach Smith, is worthy of attention, but it is exceeded in interest by the Chatham specimen, figured by Douglas[7] (fig. 20). In the latter the sphere is suspended by two silver bands, which cross each other below, and are joined on the upper surface of the ball. Through the cap, which covers them, is passed a ring, and through this a second ring of larger size. A similar specimen, but without its setting, was found in the same locality.[8] One of these crystal balls, with its mounts, from Faversham, Kent,[9] is in the South Kensington Museum, and

Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 150.

[2] "About the crest of the helm,
The defence of the head,
It held an amulet
Fastened without with wires,
That the sword hardened with scouring,
Might not violently injure him
When the shield-bearing warrior
Should go against his foes." *Beowulf.*

[3] "The Graves of the Alemanni at Oberflacht in Swabia," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., p. 149, 1855.

[4] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pp. 9 and 10.

[5] The latter seems peculiar to Kent. Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum.*

[6] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 42.

[7] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. iv., fig. 8.

[8] Roach Smith, Preface to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxvii.

[9] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities discovered at Faversham in Kent*, p. 10, No. 1147.

another of the same kind was found by Mr. Brent in the cemetery of Sarre, Kent.[1] The presence of these amulets in the Kentish cemeteries, in conjunction with perforated silver spoons, constitutes one of the points of resemblance between the burial-places of that county and those of the Isle of Wight, and clearly indicates a close

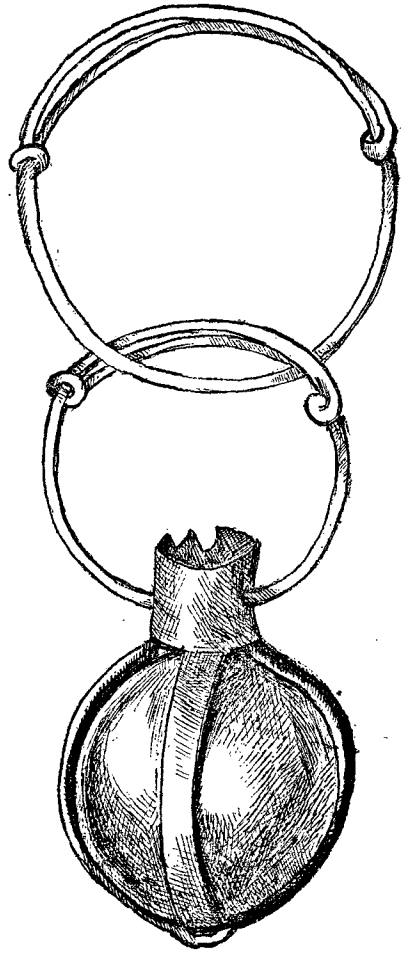

FIG. 20. BALL FROM CHATHAM, KENT.

relationship between their inhabitants. Bede had excellent reasons for his assertion, that settlers in Kent and the Isle of Wight had a common origin, both being of Jute descent,[2] and archæology adds the weight of its discoveries in support of this contention. Mr. Hillier found in the Chessell Down cemetery two crystal balls,

[1] *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. v., p. 310.—Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 150, 1868.
[2] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 150.

suspended in the same manner as the Chatham specimen,[1] and, as in the latter case, one of them was accompanied by a perforated silver spoon.[2]

The historical evidence on this interesting question has been fully discussed, and is now admitted without reserve. The corsairs of the Frisian coast[3] are the earliest people mentioned in history as having formed a permanent settlement in Great Britain (A.D. 488). A little later, according to the statement of Nennius, another colony was founded in the neighbourhood of Wall by the Jute Chiefs Octa and Ebissa; while at the beginning of the sixth century a further westward migration took place. To these we must add, on the authority of Bede,[4] the establishment of a colony of Jutes in the Isle of Wight. This historian states that the population of Kent, the Isle of Wight, and the Hampshire coast opposite the Island, were descended from the Jutes, a Germanic nation;[5] and Anglo-Saxon chroniclers seem unanimous on that point.[6]

We have now to consider the perforated balls.[7] The earliest discovery of this character was made in the course of some excavations undertaken by Lord Londesborough in a barrow at Breach Down, near the village of Barham, Kent.[8] It is probable that this interesting specimen is from the grave of a female. The mortuary furniture consisted of a necklace of eighteen amethyst beads, a circular gold pendant, in the centre of which was set a garnet, and, finally, two plain silver finger rings.[9]

Amulets of this type are not confined exclusively to Kent. Mr. Wylie mentions three found at Fairford, of which one, which he figures, came from the grave of a warrior.[10] Another specimen, placed in a mortuary urn, was exhumed at Hunsbury Hill, Northamptonshire,[11] while Mr. Wyatt notes the discovery of a similar object at Kempston, near Bedford.[12]

In various localities on the Continent, which we briefly enumerate, the Barbarian

[1] Hillier, *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight.—Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Preface, p. xxvii.

[2] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities from Faversham*, p. vii.

[3] Worsaae, *The Danes and Norwegians*, p. xvii, 1852.

[4] Thurnam and Davis, *Crania Britannica*, chap. vi. London, 1865.

[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, bk. i., chap. xv.

[6] Lappemberg, vol. i., p. 96.

[7] It seems probable that this class of crystals, as well as those which were cut in facets, were merely worn as ornaments, or at most as talismans. Their value for purposes of divination would, by the analogy of Eastern crystals, be destroyed by drilling or cutting.—*Translator.*

[8] *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., p. 47.

[9] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 9, pl. v.

[10] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, pp. 15, 19, 20, pl. iv., fig. 1.

[11] *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 10.—*Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. ix., p. 179.

[12] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 150.

cemeteries have furnished these amulets. The so-called tomb of Childeric contained a crystal ball.[1] Several others were found by M. F. Moreau in the department of Aisne. Another, now in the Evans Collection, was formerly amongst the treasures of Pecquigny (Somme). Perforated crystal balls have also been found at Vicq (Seine-et-Oise), Nesles-les-Verlincthun[2] and Sens (Pas-de-Calais). A single specimen comes from the cemetery of Spontin,[3] Belgium, and, finally, their presence has been recorded in Germany at Nordendorf, Alzey,[4] Heddesdorf, and Schiersteiner.[5]

[1] Abbé Cochet, *Le Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 221.
[2] J. Vaillant, *Le Cimetière Franco-mérovingien de Nesles-les-Verlincthun*, pl. iii., fig. 5. Arras, 1886.
[3] Namur Museum.
[4] Mayence Museum.
[5] Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer*, band ii., taf. 6, heft xii.

EARRINGS, HAIRPINS, AND COMBS.

EARRINGS have never held the same rank as ornaments with the Anglo-Saxons as with the Franks. The Barbarian graves of Belgium, France, the Rhenish provinces, Bavaria, and, above all, Hungary, have produced a large number of specimens, some of them of great beauty. The scarcity and the extreme simplicity of these ornaments in England, when compared with their abundance elsewhere, is one of the distinguishing features of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. While their rarity is thus a matter of comparison, of their simplicity there is no question. These English earrings were manufactured by the same process as the finger rings of silver wire, namely, by simply bending the metal into the form of a ring, to which a spiral twist is occasionally imparted.[1]

From the cemetery of Chavenage, Gloucestershire, earrings were exhumed formed of thin crescent-shaped plates of silver, running into very fine points, which were connected by a twisted wire.[2] Mr. Akerman cites an earring in copper or alloy, gilt, found near Stamford, Lincolnshire;[3] and a pair of these ornaments were discovered near a female skull at Fairford, Gloucestershire.

Careful search has been made for traces of these ornaments, their comparative rarity having given them a special interest, and here and there some few isolated beads have been discovered, and cited in archæological works. For example, a bead of white and turquoise blue, which had formed part of an earring, was exhumed at Sleaford, Lincolnshire.[5] Graves Nos. 65 and 66 in this cemetery yielded two glass beads,[6] one of opaque white, the other of yellow, also opaque, which had been broken off an earring. Grave No. 4 produced an earring in twisted bronze;[7] while its neigh-

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 485.
[2] *Ibidem.*
[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xii., fig. 3, p. 26.
[4] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 14.
[5] G. W. Thomas, *On Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford*, p. 7, 1887.
[6] *Ibidem*, p. 10.
[7] *Ibidem*, p. 7.

bour contained a small specimen in silver similarly treated.[1] Lastly, two other graves numbered 197 and 232 yielded several examples in iron, simply twisted.[2] Mr. Roach Smith has been unable to come to a definite conclusion as to the beads set in rings which are figured in the plate of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.[3] He is of opinion, however, that they were intended for the ears. Being generally found in the region of the neck, they must either have been worn as earrings, or formed part, with other beads, of a necklace.[4]

Faussett, however, in speaking of similar objects discovered in the excavations at Gilton,[5] Sibertswold,[6] Kingston Down,[7] Barfriston Down,[8] and Chartham Down,[9] Kent, describes them, without hesitation, as earrings.

HAIRPINS.

Messrs. Wright and Roach Smith hold opposite views on the subject of Anglo-Saxon hairpins. The former asserts that they are common,[10] while Mr. Roach Smith maintains them to be rare;[11] which latter view we consider the more plausible. In fact, hairpins are scarcely mentioned in the numerous works which we have consulted, and are, in addition, very rarely seen in museums.

With the Barbarians and the Romans alike they were evidently used to keep the hair in place at the back of the head. They are generally in bronze, but sometimes in bone. The more simple specimens were almost always provided with a ring at the upper extremity, and in the cases where it is missing a hole is drilled in the end through which the ring passed. Mr. Roach Smith has described an interesting specimen in iron, with a bronze head, from which were hung triangular plates of the same metal,[12] attached to a movable ring. These pendants, which were in use among several of the Teutonic tribes,[13] were especially affected by the Livonians.[14] The

[1] G. W. Thomas, *On Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford*, p. 8, 1887.
[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 20 and 22.
[3] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. vii.
[4] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxvii.
[5] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 15.
[6] *Ibidem*, pp. 105 and 115.
[7] *Ibidem*, pp. 43 and 62.
[8] *Ibidem*, p. 140.
[9] *Ibidem*, p. 170.
[10] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 485.
[11] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxxi.
[12] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v., pl. xiii., fig. 4, p. 139.
[13] *Ibidem*, vol. ii., p. 235.
[14] Dr. Gosse, *Mémoires et Documents Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, t. ix., pl. i., fig. 4.—Wylie, *Notes on the Swabian Mounds discovered by Captain von Durrich.*

metal triangles striking against each other produced a sound whenever the wearer moved.[1]

The hairpin in bronze, gilt, with its head set with stones, coming from a female grave at Wingham, Kent, and described in *Archæologia*,[2] has been figured by Mr. Akerman[3] and by Mr. Lindenschmit.[4]

The head of the pin found at Sleaford in 1881 is fan-shaped, like the Wingham specimen above mentioned; it is, however, essentially different in workmanship. The Sleaford specimen, now in the British Museum, is in places plated with gold and tin.[5]

Mr. Akerman has also figured a hairpin in bronze, with cruciform head, very elegant in design and careful in workmanship, which comes from a barrow at Breach Down, Kent.[6] Another in bronze gilt, and very richly ornamented, which was found in a grave at Gilton, Kent, is now in the Canterbury Museum.[7]

Lord Londesborough's collection contained two hairpins joined by a chain[8]—a circumstance which may perhaps explain the holes drilled in the heads of certain specimens to which we have previously referred.

We will conclude this dry list of names with a description of the most interesting specimen of all. Like the majority of those above mentioned, it comes from one of the rich burial-places of Kent, having been exhumed at Faversham. It is reproduced in pl. iv., fig. 5. Our cordial thanks are due to the Director of the South Kensington Museum for the photograph of this piece. Mr. Roach Smith has figured it[9] as a parallel to a pin found in Normandy;[10] while similar specimens have been discovered in Belgium, Wurtemberg, and Burgundy.[11] Numerous examples show the connection between these bird-shaped hairpins and the group of Continental antiquities to which belong the fibulæ of similar form. Archæologists are of opinion that they were imported into England, which seems to be conclusively proved by their extreme rarity in that country, and their localisation in Kent and the Isle of Wight.

[1] For this reason this ornament is called in Germany *Klapper Schmuck* (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii., p. 28).

[2] Vol. xxxvi., p. 177.

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xl., fig. 3.

[4] Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, 1880-86, pl. ix., fig. 6.

[5] *Archæologia*, vol. l., 1887, pl. xxiv., fig. 1.

[6] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xl., fig. 2.

[7] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii.—Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 485.

[8] *Archæological Album*, pl. i., fig. 13.

[9] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., pl. xxv., fig. 1.

[10] Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, pl. xii., fig. 1.

[11] Cemetery of Brochon (Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares à l'Epoque Mérovingienne*, pl. xxvi., fig. 19).

From the same cemetery at Faversham came the bird-shaped fibulæ figured in pl. iii., figs. 5 and 7, which belong to an art absolutely foreign to England. It is interesting to note the association with these fibulæ of other objects representing birds. All these objects apparently betray a common origin.

COMBS.

All the cemeteries belonging to the Germanic race,[1] contain a large number of combs of various forms. They are comparatively rare amongst the Burgundians and the Western Franks, but very common with the Eastern Franks, and abundant with the Anglo-Saxons. The comb, as we find it in their graves, consists of a plate formed generally of several pieces of bone, joined by a cross-piece, to which they were fastened by iron or bronze nails. This plate has teeth on one, sometimes on both, sides.[2] These toilet articles, which are generally devoid of ornament, are found in the cemeteries of France and England, in the country of the Alemanni and the Rhineland, in male and female graves alike.[3]

The combs with a double row of teeth required, for their preservation, a special form of sheath of a kind which has been found in England.[4] This case, which opened on both sides, was an excellent protection; it was not, however, fixed to the comb.

The Abbé Cochet mentions an historical example, preserved in the treasure of Sens Cathedral. This comb is assigned by tradition to St. Lupus, a bishop of the seventh century,[5] and is inscribed in thirteenth-century characters with the words—*Pecten sancti Lupi.*[6] This inscription at least proves the antiquity of the tradition.

In the Collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London is a drawing of a large square comb, with a double row of teeth. The inscription on this specimen shows that it was sent by Pope Gregory to Queen Bertha.[7] Bede, in his list of the presents sent by the Pope to King Ethelbert, appears to corroborate the statement of the inscription.

A very interesting letter of Alcuin gives a description of a comb of the eighth

[1] It was not only the Frank who at that time wore his hair long; it was the same with nearly all the peoples of Western Europe (Abbé Cochet, *Le Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 273).

[2] M. Pilloy assigns the triangular combs in especial to men. The combs with double rows of teeth are more frequent in female graves (*Études sur d'Anciens Lieux de Sépultures dans l'Aisne*, by J. Pilloy, t. i., p. 255).

[3] Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, p. 311.

[4] Fausset, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xiii., figs. 5 and 6.

[5] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 218.

[6] Probably a liturgical comb (*Dictionnaire des Antiquités Chrétiennes* de l'Abbé Martigny).

[7] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.

century, one having been sent him as a present by Riculf, Archbishop of Metz, to whom the illustrious scholar writes from Saxony a graceful letter of thanks.[1]

This comb was furnished with sixty teeth, and ornamented with two heads. It has some points of resemblance with a specimen exhumed from the Saxon cemetery of Little Wilbraham.[2] It may also be compared with that found in London in 1796.[3] The latter specimen is of carved bone, and made in three pieces; the central plate has teeth on one side, and heads of animals on the other. Mr. Soden Smith has remarked antiquities of this type at Pompeii, and is therefore of opinion that this special form dates back to the Roman period.

Similar combs have been discovered in the North of France,[4] in Luxemburg,[5] and Belgium;[6] these articles, however, which are well worthy of attention, are nevertheless rare. The Abbé Cochet mentions several as having been found in the graves of Frankish warriors,[7] and their use among the Franco-Merovingians is further attested by a passage from Apollinaris Sidonius.[8] Certain examples exhumed in England, however, undoubtedly come from female graves;[9] it is plain, therefore, that they were used by both sexes. Mortuary urns filled with human ashes have also been found to contain combs; this has been remarked in the cemeteries of Wilbraham[10] (Cambridgeshire), Eye[11] (Suffolk), Walsingham[12] (Norfolk), and Barrow

[1] "De vestra valde gaudeo prosperitate et de munere caritatis vestrae multum gavisus sum, tot agens gratias, quot dentes in dono numeravi. Nimirum animal, duo habens capita et dentes LX, non elephantinae magnitudinis, sed eburneae pulchritudinis. Non ego hujus bestiae territus horrore, sed delectatus aspectu. Nec me frequentibus illa morderet dentibus timui, sed blanda adulatione capitis mei placare capillos adrisi. Nec ferocitatem in dentibus intellexi, sed caritatem in mittente dilexi, quam semper fideliter in illo probavi" (Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*).

[2] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. xxii.

[3] *The Archæological Journal*, 1877, p. 451, communication from Mr. Soden Smith.

[4] Pilloy, *Études sur d'Anciens Lieux de Sépultures. Homblières*, pl. ii., fig. 11; pl. v., figs. 22, 23, and 24.

[5] Namur, Steinfort Cemetery. Publications of the *Société pour la Recherche et Conservation des Monuments Historiques dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg*, 1852, t. viii.

[6] Namur Museum. Frankish graves at Furfooz.

[7] Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 218.—*Le Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 373.

> "Hic quoque monstra domat, rutili quibus arce cerebri,
> Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque cervix.
> Setarum per damna nitet, cum lumine glauco
> Albet aquosa acies, ac vultibus undique rasis,
> Pro barba tenues perarantur pectine cristae."
>
> (*Panegyr. Major.*, V., 238 bis., 242.)

[9] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxi., figs. 1, 2, and 3.—Douglas, *Nenia Britannica.*—*The Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiv., p. 451.

[10] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pp. 8 and 11.

[11] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxii., p. 44.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 78.

Furlong[1] (Northamptonshire). Lastly, four specimens were exhumed, in 1828, from the graves at Lancing, Sussex.[2]

Combs completely analogous to those placed in Anglo-Saxon graves have been discovered in Ireland. They are generally of bone, ornamented with incised lines and circles, with a central point. Mr. Roach Smith has described the combs from Lagore, which afford several interesting points of resemblance with those of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

The warriors and priests sculptured on the ancient stone crosses of Ireland are almost always represented with long flowing locks; while the abundance of combs found in company with antiquities of the Iron Age at Lagore and elsewhere attests the attention which was paid to the hair. The resemblance between the Irish specimens and those met with in England and on the Continent cannot fail to be remarked.[3] Scotland also has preserved certain stone monuments, attributed to the eighth century, on which are carved numerous combs, surrounded by crosses, lions, elephants, and other subjects.[4]

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 492. London, 1885.

[2] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i., p. 93.

[3] "Irish Antiquities of the Saxon Period," *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii., p. 43, pl. xii.

[4] J. Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland.* Album published at Aberdeen in 1857 by the Spalding Club, pls. ii., iv., ix., xii., xvii., xxxiii., lxiii., lxxiii., lxxxix., and cxii.

BUCKLES.

THE buckles found in Barbarian graves are important, not only from their number, but also from their great variety of form. The wide-spread use of buckles proves that swords, knives, and other weapons were slung from a belt fastened tightly round the waist. These buckles are often very elaborately decorated; in some cases they are set with precious stones, or glass in *cloisons*.[1] The sword-belt was worn by all the tribes who invaded the Roman Empire, whether Franks, Saxons, Burgundians, or Germans.[2]

The researches of archæology into Anglo-Saxon antiquities have shown that while those counties which are near the coast or the rivers contain buckles in abundance, those inland furnish only very few specimens.[3] This scarcity was noticed at Little Wilbraham, where eighty-eight graves only yielded nine buckles, four in iron and five in bronze.[4] A single specimen, in iron, came from Fairford;[5] while Mr. Akerman does not mention one from the Kemble cemetery (Wiltshire), though he explored it with great care.[6] The investigations of Mr. Roach Smith led him also to the conclusion that while tolerably common in Kent, buckles are rare in other parts of England.[7] The same archæologist, however, speaking of the numerous buckles from Faversham,[8] says that the largest specimens are less common in Kent than in the other counties of Great Britain.[9]

Kentish buckles generally belong to the triangular type,[10] and are mostly of

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 476.

[2] Abbé Cochet, *Le Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 245.—Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 8.

[3] Abbé Cochet, *Ibidem*, p. 268.

[4] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pp. 8, 15, and 23.

[5] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, pl. xii., fig. 7.

[6] Akerman, "Account of the Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Kemble," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii., p. 2.

[7] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 63, note 1.

[8] We have given illustrations of four buckles from this locality, pl. xii., figs. 2, 4, 6, and 9.

[9] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities, Faversham, Kent*, p. vii.

[10] Buckles from Faversham, in the South Kensington Museum, and the John Evans Collection.—Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. viii., figs. 9, 10, and 12; pl. ix., figs. 1, 2, and 3.—Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxviii., fig. 2; pl. xxxix., fig. 1.

simple bronze. We shall later on refer more particularly to the richly ornamented specimens. The large massive buckles form a special variety which was used exclusively by men.[1] The example which we figure (fig. 21) is from a barrow at Kingston Down, in which a warrior had been buried. The grave contained, in addition, a javelin,[2] a conical umbo, and another smaller buckle.[3] On the other hand, the more elegant buckles of smaller size were worn by women.[4]

The triangular form is also found in Frankish buckles; indeed, the Abbé Cochet considers the similarity so complete that it is easy to confuse specimens coming from France[5] with those of English origin. Roach Smith has also remarked this resemblance,[6] which is especially noticeable in the simpler examples (pl. xii., figs. 7

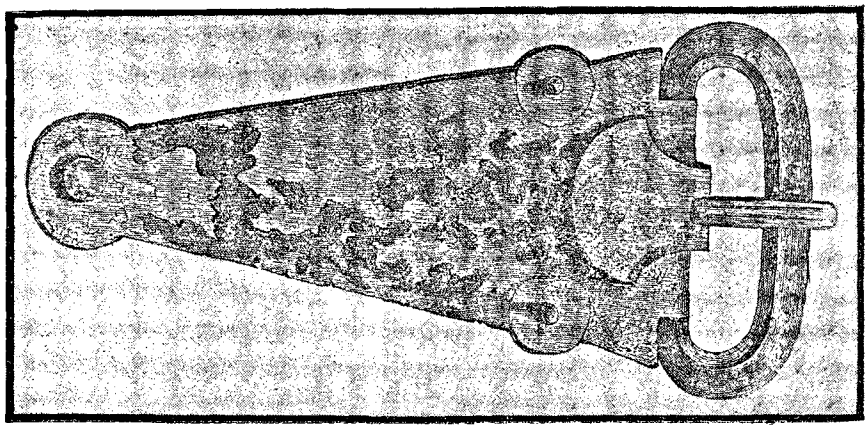

FIG. 21. BUCKLE FROM KINGSTON DOWN.

and 8). These pieces, which are without plates on either side, are exactly analogous to those which have come, in considerable numbers, from Frankish sources. A few buckles are decorated with coloured glass, precious stones, and filigree.[7] A comparison of the workmanship with that of the splendid circular fibulæ of Kent shows that they are of the same manufacture. These gorgeous belt-buckles recall the baldrics which were in use at the same period; it was with one of the latter valuable articles that Alfred decorated his grandson Athelstane.[8]

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxviii.

[2] This weapon measured 120 centimetres.

[3] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 63.

[4] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities, Faversham, Kent*, Introduction, p. xv.

[5] Abbé Cochet, *Le Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 273.

[6] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxviii.

[7] *Ibidem.*

[8] "Quem etiam praematurе militem fecerat, donatum chlamyde coccinea, gemmato baltheo, ense saxonico cum vagina aurea" (William of Malmesbury, bk. ii., chap. 6).

Specimens of the work of Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths are numerous; we shall confine ourselves to citing only the most celebrated. A buckle in silver gilt, bordered with gold, and elegantly decorated with coloured glass and filigree, was found at Gilton, near Sandwich.[1]

Another (fig. 22)[2] from the same spot, belonging to the Rolfe Collection, was attached to a beautiful oblong plate of silver gilt, covered with delicate filigree work, and ornamented, on its external surface, with an edging of garnets, set in *cloisons* on gold foil. The Faversham specimens (pl. xii., figs. 4 and 6) belong to the same category.[3]

Fig. 4 is silver gilt, with gold filigree work. Fig. 6 is of the same metal, also gilt, and decorated with a vermicular pattern in filigree; the base of the tongue is ornamented with garnets on gold foil. On each side of the hinge, joining the

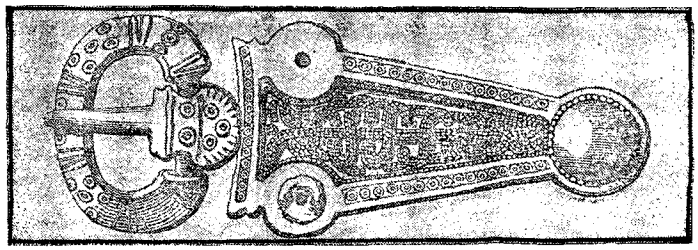

FIG. 22. BUCKLE FROM GILTON, NEAR SANDWICH, KENT.

plate to the buckle, is the head of a bird.[4] The buckle given at fig. 2, pl. xii., which is essentially a specimen of *cloisonné* art, is in a metal alloy, and is covered with garnets set in silver, on a thin gold plaque. The quatrefoil cells are filled with a green enamel, which has suffered considerably from age.[5]

Gilton, near Ash, has also furnished a buckle, of which the rectangular plate, with its border of cable-pattern filigree, clearly belongs to the art of *cloisonné*.[6] The superiority which is generally apparent in the Gilton specimens is noticeable in the beautiful ornament (fig. 23) which we reproduce from the *Inventorium*

[1] "Antiquities near Sandwich," *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., p. 135.

[2] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxix, fig. 2.

[3] No. 1097, *South Kensington Museum Catalogue.*

[4] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Antiquities, Faversham.*

[5] This piece may be compared to the Cologne specimen figured in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., pl. xxxv., fig. 13.

[6] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 59, pl. xxix., fig. 2.

Sepulchrale. The quadrangular plate, of bronze gilt, is covered with incised work, in the centre of which is set a garnet.[1]

The finest of the decorated buckles is one in the collection of Mr. John Evans. This magnificent jewel, illustrated by Mr. Akerman in 1852,[2] was found at Tostock, near Ixworth, Suffolk; the richness of its decoration consists of two large plaques of garnet, set on gold foil. In shape and detail it resembles the Gilton buckle.[3]

Baldrics, elaborately decorated, are often mentioned by the writers of the later Empire; amongst others we may name Apollinaris Sidonius,[4] Prudentius,[5] Claudianus,[6] Corippus,[7] and St. Ambrose.[8]

In pl. xii. (figs. 1 and 3) we reproduce a special type of sword-belt buckles.

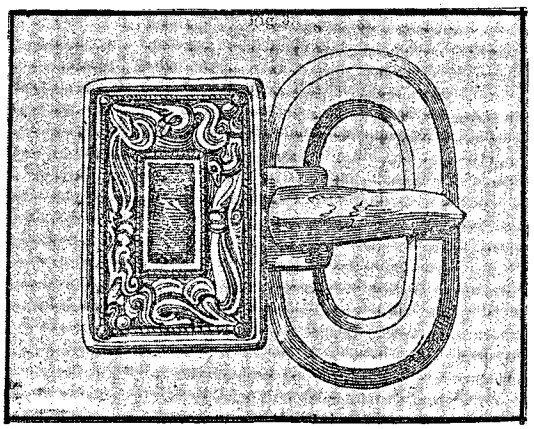

FIG. 23. BUCKLE FROM GILTON, NEAR ASH.

The ring is formed of a characteristic double dragon, the two heads of which are biting the buckle-plate. In the opinion of M. Pilloy,[9] these dragon-headed buckles date back to the fourth century, and belong to Gallo-Roman burial-grounds of the transition period. The objects which, in Gaul, generally accompany buckles of this

[1] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Introduction, p. xxix, fig. 3.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxx., pl. xi.—*Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxix.

[2] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. i., fig. 9.

[3] *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., pl. ii., fig. 5.—*Archæological Index*, pl. xvii., fig. 10.

[4] T. S. Apoll. Sidon., *Opera*, carm. ii. and v., lib. iv., epist xx: "Strinxerunt clausa bullatis latera rhenonibus."

[5] Prud., carm. v., *In Psicomachiâ:* "Fulgentia Bullis cingula."

[6] Claud., *In Panegyrico Stiliconis:* "Cingula Bullis aspera," and *Pan. Honorii:* "Gemmato cinctu."

[7] Corippus, lib. ii., *De Justino Imperatore:* "Baltheus effulgens gemmis."

[8] Ambrose, lib. iv., cap. xiii., *De Heliâ et jejunio:* "Aureis bullis zonam tegunt."

[9] Pilloy, *Études sur d'Anciens Lieux de Sépultures dans l'Aisne*, t. ii., fasc. i., p. 47.

character, are representative, according to M. Pilloy, of an artistic style midway between the classic Græco-Roman and the new importations of Northern and Eastern Barbarians.[1] The beauty, the workmanship, the delicacy of certain specimens, seem to favour the hypothesis of a hybrid and transitional art. The productions of this apparent combination of styles show traces of Roman art in the good taste of the general scheme; which, however, is allied, with more or less happy effect, to rude and fantastic ornamentation representing the Barbarian element. This alliance, strange, unusual, inexplicable almost, does not harmonise with the bold self-assertion which generally characterises the dawn of a new artistic era. The most ancient productions of the epoch of the great invasions necessarily indicate, by their daring novelty and their unwonted form, the earliest burial-places of the Germanic tribes. They proclaim, in fact, the new art in its full vitality and its primordial originality.

We have here the Barbarian art in all its purity, free from the degradation produced by lapse of time. Its decadence, however, must be attributed, not to any desire to modify the style, but to the incapacity of the craftsman, as is evidenced by the fanciful manner in which animal forms were rendered. A fantastic zoology was beyond the comprehension of the Barbarian artificer, in whose productions it lost all its original characteristics. The goldsmith sought to copy what he had before him, without understanding in the least the idea which was conveyed by the model. It thus becomes a most interesting task to point out with what independence and disdain for tradition the art imported by the invaders imposed itself upon the conquered countries. The so-called Græco-Roman civilisation of the later Empire and that of the Barbarian immigrants developed side by side under distinct influences, and having but one point of contact, namely, their common country, their common starting-point, the East.

These remarks, which are applicable to the whole of Europe, are justified by the appearance of Barbarian art in Great Britain; and we do not think we have wandered too far from our subject in setting forth the reflections inspired by a comparison of Anglo-Saxon industrial art with the productions of other countries.

The Barbarian graves of the Crimea have furnished a few buckles the rings of which terminate in birds' heads. Pannonia[2] has produced similar forms recalling the bronzes of Dorchester (pl. xii., fig. 1) and Long Wittenham (pl. xii., fig. 3). The specimens from the Crimea and Pannonia are undoubtedly older than the two latter, but all are certainly Barbarian.

[1] M. Pilloy finds a proof of this in the funeral furniture of the military grave of Vermand.—"No buckle or clasp has been found in Gallo-Roman graves which can be attributed with any certainty to the fourth or fifth centuries of our era" (L'Abbé Cochet, *Le Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 234).

[2] Hampel, *Der Goldfund von Nagy-Szent-Miklos*, fig. 120, p. 179. Budapest, 1885.

The points of similarity between Anglo-Saxon buckles and those of the Crimea and of Hungary connect them with the starting-point of the Barbarian invasions. Their analogy, however, with those of Nydam (Denmark) and Borgstedt (Schleswig) brings them into more direct relation with the cradle of the Angles and the Saxons. On this point there can be no doubt, and the archæological kinship of these ornaments is further attested by the ethnical kinship of the peoples who wore them. A knowledge of the antiquities of Russia familiarises us with the genesis of the vast mass of Barbarian antiquities taken as a whole; while a special study of the extreme north of Germany is the indispensable preliminary to an acquaintance with the productions of the Anglo-Saxons. The buckles of Dorchester[1] and Long Wittenham[2]

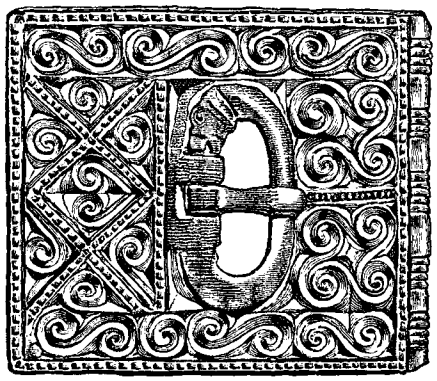

FIG. 24. BUCKLE FROM SMITHFIELD.

undoubtedly represent the most ancient Barbarian forms, preserving the original characteristics in all their purity.

M. Lindenschmit has reproduced several of these dragon-headed buckles, which he assigns to Frankish art,[3] thus distinctly recognising their Barbarian character.

To add an interesting detail to this series, we reproduce (fig. 24) a buckle coming from Smithfield.[4] The buckle proper forms the centre of a plate, which is of the same width as the leathern sword-belt. This specimen greatly resembles those of Worms and Mayence reproduced by Professor Lindenschmit.[5]

[1] Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[2] "Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berks," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii., pl. xix., fig. 10, p. 332.

[3] Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer*, band ii., heft vi., taf. 6, fig. 6; band iv., taf. 12, figs. 1 and 2. —*Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde*, taf. 2, figs. 326 and 327.

[4] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv.; and Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer*, band i., heft viii., taf. 7.

[5] Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer*, band i., heft vi., taf. 8, and heft viii., taf. 8.

STEELS.

The use of the steel is attested by the mortuary furniture of many Anglo-Saxon graves. The tomb of a young pagan which was opened at Harnham, near Salisbury, by Mr. Akerman, contained a specimen placed beside the right arm.[1] Another example, originally described by Mr. Roach Smith as the clasp of a purse,[2] was found at Ozingell.[3] The excavation in the cemetery of Chessell Down also brought to light several steels.[4] The specimens found at Kingston and Sibertswold have been reproduced in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*;[5] at the time of their discovery, however, they were described as iron objects of uncertain use.

The comparative rarity of the steel is explained by the indifference with which it has been regarded by archæologists. There is no doubt that its use was thoroughly in accord with Saxon customs, and it is constantly met with in the graves of the Franks and other Germanic nations.[6] MM. Pilloy and Moreau, in the Department of the Aisne and the author in the Marne, have found a considerable quantity of steels, in many cases accompanied by flints. The latter are much worn by continued striking, and are covered with oxide of iron, showing that they had been in full use. In many cases we found that a simple piece of iron replaced the steel as it is represented on the coins of Burgundy, and as it has come down to our own days in the country districts, where the lucifer match has not yet completely superseded it.[7]

Implements for the production of fire were naturally considered to possess magical virtues. Scheffer relates that the Laplanders, who were still idolaters in the seventeenth century, used to place steels in the graves of their dead.[8] According to Keysler, every iron article had power to repel spirits; and this power was especially retained by the fire caused by striking the flint against the steel.[9] Saxo Grammaticus, indeed, expressly mentions the use to which it was put: *Extusum silicibus ignem oportunum contra dæmones tutamentum.*[10]

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of pl. xxxvi.—*Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., pl. xi., fig. 3.

[2] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 93.

[3] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii., p. 16.

[4] Hillier, *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, p. 33.

[5] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 93.

[6] Dr. Gosse, *Notice des Cimetières trouvés en Savoie*, pl. iii., fig. 3. Geneva, 1853, 8°.—Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, 2nd edition, p. 258.—Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares de l'Époque Mérovingienne*, pl. xix., figs. 4 to 11.—Calandra, *Di Una Necropoli Barbarica Scoperta a Testona*, p. 18, pl. iii., figs. 39, 41, and 42.—Campi, *Le Tombe Barbariche di Civezzano*, pl. v., fig. 4.

[7] Pilloy, *Études sur d'Anciens Lieux de Sépultures dans l'Aisne*, p. 43, *et seq.*

[8] Scheffer, *Histoire de la Laponie*, p. 292.

[9] Keysler, *Antiquitates Septentrionales*, p. 173.

[10] Saxo Gramm., lib. viii., p. 431, Müller's edition.

BUCKETS.

AS long ago as 1839 Mr. Houben published, in an important work,[1] a plate, the curious subject of which evoked considerable attention even from those who were only neophytes in archæological study. It represented a human skull, crowned with a wide circlet of bronze, with serrated edges. At that time it was believed that the grave from which it had been taken was that of a prince, who had been buried with his crown. This curious plate will remain a monument of the ignorance of the time. Even the Abbé Cochet was influenced by the prevailing opinion, which, it may be remarked, was shared by Oberlin,[2] and spoke of the so-called crown of Douvrend.[3] These errors, however, were promptly dissipated, and the circlets became once more what they had in fact always been, the simple metal hoops of wooden pails or buckets. Lindenschmit, and also the Abbé Cochet in the second edition of his *Normandie Souterraine*, did much to destroy the false nomenclature adopted on the first discovery of these objects.

The wooden bucket, bound with iron hoops, such as is found in Anglo-Saxon graves, is, by some English archæologists, called a *situla*.[4]

As we are here dealing with a fresh subject, and one which has furnished us with but scanty material, it is desirable to enumerate the specimens known, before proceeding to consider the purpose for which they were used.

Cambridgeshire appears to be the county in which pails are most abundant. The sixth volume of *Collectanea Antiqua* contains an engraving of a specimen found at Barrington (Cambridgeshire) in a female grave (pl. xiii., fig. 9). The skeleton was accompanied by a circular fibula in bronze, a hair-pin, a few necklace beads, and a fragment of red pottery of the Roman period.[5] Another bucket, of which only the iron hoops have resisted the action of time, comes from the same cemetery.

[1] Philip Houben, *Römisches Antiquarium*, pl. xlviii., Xanten, 1839.

[2] *Museum Schœpfelini*, Argentorati, 1773.

[3] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 310 *et seq.*, 1854.

[4] Neville, "Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Linton Heath," *The Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., pp. 96 and 108.

[5] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 158, pl. xxxi., fig. 4.

Mr. Foster, in describing this example, points out its position to the left of the head of a man who was evidently a warrior, as was shown by the presence of a spear, umbo, and sword.[1]

The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Linton Heath[2] (Cambridgeshire), excavated by Mr. Neville, also contained one of these situlæ (pl. xiii., fig. 2), which, like the preceding, was found to the left of a skull.

In size it is one of the largest known, being thirteen centimetres high and sixteen centimetres in diameter. The wooden staves were naturally decomposed. Several other objects were found in the same grave—one large and two small cruciform fibulæ, a bronze ornament in the shape of a wheel, and half the clasp of a necklace, with a hundred and forty-one beads of blue glass and amber. These ornaments are more than sufficient to prove that the grave was that of a woman.[3] In the same locality a situla, which is different in some of its details from the last-named specimen, was taken from a grave with some fibulæ and a hundred and fourteen beads. This example, the staves of which had almost entirely disappeared, measured thirteen centimetres in height and the same in diameter, and was placed to the right of the head. It resembles in shape the pails of Little Wilbraham;[4] this locality having, in fact, produced two of these utensils[5] (pl. xiii., figs. 1 and 3). The first, found like those above described, in the neighbourhood of a skull, was formed of staves hooped with bronze, and, as usual, was in a very bad state of preservation. It measured sixteen centimetres in diameter and eleven in height. The second was discovered with a skeleton, together with three fibulæ and twelve necklace beads. The bronze hoops are covered with ornaments, while the handle, of the same metal, is perfectly preserved. This specimen is fourteen centimetres in diameter and eleven centimetres high.[6] The list of examples from Cambridgeshire is completed by fig. 7, pl. xiii., which is borrowed from the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.[7]

Several of these vessels have also been discovered in Kent. Mr. Wright has described the example from Bourne Park, near Canterbury (pl. xiii., fig. 5). This bucket was lying at the feet of a male skeleton, the hoops still in good preservation, and occupying their proper positions. The lower hoop is thirty-six centimetres in diameter, the upper one only thirty. Mr. Wright has also examined some fragmentary

[1] *Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire*, p. 22, grave 60, pl. vii., fig. 1, 1880.

[2] *The Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., p. 95.

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxvii., p. 54 *et seq.*

[4] Neville, "Anglo-Saxon Cemetery on Linton Heath," *The Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., p. 96, fig. 8.

[5] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. xvii.

[6] *Ibidem*, pp. 15 and 19.

Inventorium Sepulchrale, Preface, p. xl.

remains from two other graves in the same district, and believes them to have formed part of similar utensils [1] which have been destroyed by the action of time. Douglas, in his *Nenia Britannica*, has also figured a bucket found at Ash, Kent,[2] which, however, is smaller than those above described, measuring only twenty-four centimetres in diameter, and somewhat less in height. From Gilton, Kent, comes a very characteristic fragment, which we reproduce from the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* [3] (fig. 25).

This remnant, which is the portion of a bucket just below the handle, is very similar in ornamentation to the Envermeu bucket, which we illustrate later (p. 101,

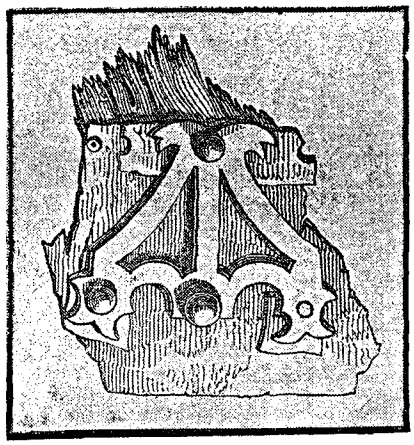

FIG. 25. FRAGMENT FROM GILTON, KENT.

fig. 26). Further, we must mention a specimen peculiarly worthy of notice as having been found intact at Gilton.[4]

An example of the same class has been found at Brighthampton (Oxfordshire) in the grave of a male, which contained a sword, with the pommel under the left armpit, a small spear-head near the right shoulder, a knife, a large amber bead, and, near the head, the bucket, which is of the usual form, but highly ornamented.[5] Another was discovered at Long Wittenham (Berkshire) above the shoulder of a male skeleton. It is about seventeen centimetres in height.[6]

[1] *The Archæological Journal*, vol. i., p. 255, 1846.—Wright, *The Archæological Album*, p. 208. London, 1845.

[2] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. xii., fig. 11.

[3] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xl.

[4] Boys, *Materials for a History of Sandwich*, p. 868.

[5] "Further Researches in a Cemetery at Brighthampton, Oxon," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii., p. 87, 1860.

[6] Akerman, "Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Long Wittenham," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii., p. 351.

Mr. Wylie has described the specimen from Fairford, Gloucestershire (pl. xiii., fig. 8), which was placed in the grave close to the skull. It is made of oak staves, held together by three copper hoops, and is twelve centimetres in diameter and nine centimetres high.[1] The grave contained, in addition, a large sword and an umbo.[2]

In Wiltshire must be cited the bucket from St. Margaret's Plain, near Marlborough. We have only a reproduction to guide us as to this specimen, for it was found impossible to preserve it. This large specimen measured thirty-six centimetres in diameter and sixty-four in height. It was formed of oak staves, with iron hoops, and was carried by a cross-piece fixed to the top. The exterior was entirely covered with a thin sheet of copper, plated with tin, on which human and animal heads were represented in *repoussé* work. This utensil, which contained human ashes,[3] is quite different in character from those above described, and was certainly intended for a different purpose. It apparently owes its unusually large dimensions to the fact that it was destined to serve as a mortuary urn.

The example discovered at Kempston, Bedfordshire, was much decayed; the handle had disappeared, but there still remained three broken bronze hoops. It was fifteen centimetres in diameter and about seventeen high, while the wood was more than two centimetres thick.[4]

The huge cairn explored at Sleaford, Lincolnshire, contained the metal framework of a bucket measuring forty-eight centimetres in diameter and thirty-two centimetres high (pl. xiii., fig. 4). The portions which have been preserved are the bronze hoop which formed the rim of the bucket, and three other iron hoops. Two large iron rings, nine centimetres in diameter, placed one on each side, were used to carry it. This situla had been placed thirty centimetres from the feet of the skeleton.[5]

The last specimen to be referred to differs in several respects from those previously described. It is entirely of bronze, and it was clearly not intended for mortuary purposes. It was found at Hexham, Northumberland, and contained several of the Anglo-Saxon coins called *sceattas*.[6] Its dimensions are thirty-three centimetres in height, thirty centimetres in diameter at the bottom, and twenty-four at the top.[7]

[1] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 20, pl. viii., fig. 3.

[2] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 55.

[3] Sir Richard Colt Hoare, *The History of North Wiltshire*, vol. ii., p. 35. London, 1819.

[4] "Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Kempston, Bedfordshire," *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi.

[5] G. W. Thomas, "On Excavations in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Sleaford in Lincolnshire," *Archæologia*, vol. l., p. 13, 1887, pl. xxv., fig. 1.

[6] The *sceatta* was the coin in most general use among the early Anglo-Saxons.

[7] *Archæologia*, vol. xxv., p. 279, 1834, pl. xxxiii., fig. 1.

The Barbarian cemeteries in other European countries have also produced situlæ similar to those of Anglo-Saxon origin, many of which are of great value as affording means of comparison.

We may cite in particular the bucket found at Envermeu, Normandy, by the Abbé Cochet [1] (fig. 26), which was among the earliest discovered. It is figured below, together with the example found at Verdun [2] (Lorraine) (fig. 27). M. Baudot [3] has described several buckets from Charnay (Burgundy). These latter, however, are less ornate than those of England, Germany, and Normandy.[4] M. Van Robais

FIG. 26. BUCKET FROM ENVERMEU.

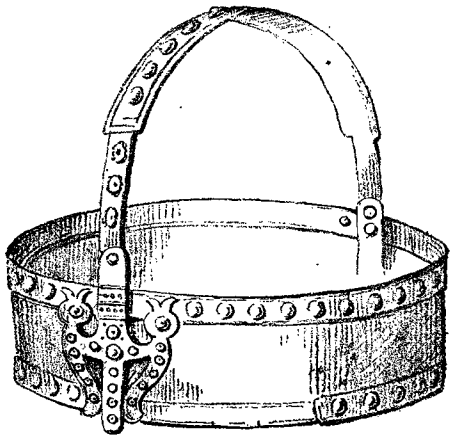

FIG. 27. BUCKET FROM VERDUN.

has made known that of Miannay, near Abbeville (Somme),[5] and M. Danjou that of Rue-Saint-Pierre (Oise).[6] M. Terninck has figured the frame-work of some buckets found at Nœux and Mareuil (Pas-de-Calais);[7] while to M. Vaillant we owe the description and illustration of the specimen [8] from Nesles-les-Verlincthun (Pas-de-Calais). The same department has produced a wooden bucket, with handle

[1] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 270.
[2] Liénard, *Archéologie de la Meuse*, vol. ii., pl. xxxi.
[3] Baudot, *Sépultures des Barbares de l'Époque Mérovingienne*, p. 84.
[4] Baudot, *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquaires de la Côte-d'Or*, années 1832-33.
[5] Van Robais, *Cabinet Historique de Picardie*, 1887.
[6] Danjou, *Notes sur Quelques Antiquités Mérovingiennes Conservées au Musée de Beauvais*, pl. i., fig. 1. Beauvais, 1856.
[7] Terninck, *L'Artois Souterrain*, vol. ii., pl. cl.
Vaillant, *Le Cimetière Franco-Merovingien de Nesles-les-Verlincthun*, pl. ii., fig. 15. Arras, 1886.

63892

and hoops of bronze, which was discovered at Hardenthun, and a loop from another specimen, in bronze, decorated with copper and iron, found at Pincthun.[1]

In Germany we have the buckets from Oberflacht, exclusively of wood,[2] and those from Schiersteiner, near Wiesbaden, and from Monsheim, preserved in the Mayence Museum,[3] which are provided with metal frames. In the Museum of Namur (Belgium) are situlæ from Samson, Furfooz, and Spontin. Nor must we omit to mention one of these utensils discovered at Osztropataka, Hungary, and figured by M. Hampel.[4] This new locality is interesting, as showing how widely spread was the use of buckets among the invading nations.

Worsaae gives an illustration of a bucket which he attributes to the first Iron Age; and here again, as in the preceding case, we have a further extension of the area of the employment of pails.[5]

English antiquaries have addressed themselves to the task of discriminating between the various kinds of wood which were used in the manufacture of pails. The staves of the Fairford[6] and Marlborough[7] specimens are of oak; those from Linton Heath and Roundway Down of yew; while the fragments found between Sandgate and Dover are of deal.[8]

There has been considerable discussion as to the use to which pails were put, and the most opposite theories have been advanced. Baudot seems to have adopted the view originally expressed by Mr. Akerman, in his *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, that these vessels were used to serve the beer, wine, or mead at Anglo-Saxon banquets.[9] When his first work was published, however, Mr. Akerman did not consider that the buckets were intended to contain beverages only, and never solid food.[10] He thought that these vessels, which had been taken from the graves of both sexes, were also used to hold soup; believing that this view was justified by the fact that the buckets fitted with handles and metal hoops belonged to the rich, while

[1] L'Abbé Haigneré, *Quatre Cimetières Mérovingiens du Boulonnais*, pl. ix., fig. 1, and pl. xvii., fig. 5. Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1866.

[2] *Jahreshefte des Wirtenbergischen Alterthums-Vereins*, Drittes Heft, pl. x., figs. 45 and 53. Stuttgard, 1846.

[3] Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer* . . . . . Band iii., heft ii., taf. vi.

[4] Hampel, *Der Goldfund von Nagy-Szent-Miklos*, taf. ii. Budapest, 1885.

[5] Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager*. Kjöbenhaun, 1859.

[6] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 20.

[7] R. Colt Hoare, *The History of North Wiltshire*, vol. ii., p. 35.

[8] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 56.

[9] "Cup-bearers gave
The wine from wondrous vats."
(*Beowulf*, line 2316-17 Kemble's edition, 1837.)

[10] Akerman, in fact, calls them *porringers*.—*Translator*.

the plain wooden ones, like those from Oberflacht, had, as a rule, been destroyed by time.[1] Later on, in 1862, Mr. Akerman altered his opinions, and after having expressed his belief that they were intended to contain solid food, was forced to recognise that this supposition was but little in harmony with the method of their construction, which was far too fragile to admit of their application to the ordinary purposes of domestic life. Mr. Akerman then advanced the theory that their purpose was religious, and that they were intended to contain holy water[2]—an explanation which would have aided in determining the uses of several other objects. The Abbé Cochet also has expressed this view; but Messrs. Roach Smith[3] and Wright[4] retained their conviction, that these utensils were destined for table use. It seems difficult to concede that all the graves containing buckets were those of Christians, for in many cases the rest of the mortuary furniture belongs clearly to pagan tombs. Fresh discoveries in the future, however, will no doubt enable archæologists to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the purpose of these vessels.

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 56.

[2] Akerman, "Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Long Wittenham," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. (1862), p. 336.

[3] Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*.

[4] *Archæological Album*, p. 208.

GLASS VASES.

IN all civilisations the art of glass-making holds an important place. The large number of glass vessels found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries gives them an interest which necessitates some mention of them in these archæological notes. We also devote two plates (Nos. xiv. and xv.) to these productions.

Mr. James Fowler has made a special study of the general aspects of glass-making; but his views are especially interesting in their relation to Anglo-Saxon glass.[1] In his opinion, a great part of the glassware of the ancient Teutons shows traces of a distinctly Roman influence. A very large quantity of Roman glass has been found in Great Britain; and so remarkable is it in workmanship, that there can be no hesitation in proclaiming it to be of Roman origin. The Barbarian nations who followed copied the already known processes as accurately as possible. In the British Museum and in other collections are to be found numerous specimens of the earliest Anglo-Saxon glass, which are almost identical, both in appearance and in material, with those of Roman origin; in form and decoration, however, they are absolutely unlike. There is little difference between the glass of the Merovingians and that of the Anglo-Saxons. On the other hand, the glass from Selzen (Germany), preserved in the British Museum, is of very inferior material to that used by the Anglo-Saxons; it is less transparent, and of a coarser texture than the Roman specimens. Contemporary writers were struck, like ourselves, with this difference. Thus Isidore of Seville (570 to 636), when recording that the manufactories of Gaul and Spain had put out their fires, declares that their products were of superior quality.[2]

Mr. Wylie asserts that, though the art of working in glass may have been known to the Saxons, it had been abandoned, and even forgotten, before the period at which Bede wrote his Annals.[3] This historian certainly shows us that glass

[1] James Fowler, "On the Process of Decay in Glass, and Incidentally, on the Composition and Texture of Glass at Different Periods, and the History of its Manufacture," *Archæologia*, vol. xlvi., p. 89, 1880.

[2] "Olim fiebat et in Italia et per Gallias et Hispaniam . . . . vitrum purum et candidum," (*Etymologiarum*, xvi., 15).

[3] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 17.

making was unknown in England in 680, when St. Benedict was Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow.[1]

Mr. Fowler, in his admiration of the perfect limpidity of the glass found in Anglo-Saxon tombs, considers it worthy of comparison with that of the Arab lamps. Among objects of about the same period, he cites the *sacro catino* of Genoa, which, owing to its brilliancy and transparency, was for centuries thought to be an emerald. For the same reason the cup of Theodolind at Monza was long regarded as a sapphire. The treasures of many old churches contain cups and basins of the same kind.[2]

It is probable that the use of glass was very widespread with the Anglo-Saxons; indeed, it cannot be supposed that a people who had become acquainted with the luxury of Rome should be sparing in their use of glass vessels.[3] In the later days of the Empire glass became extremely common; so much so that the Emperor Gallienus forbad its use at his table.[4]

The glass vases taken from Anglo-Saxon graves are, thinks Mr. Roach Smith, the most interesting and the most remarkable productions of Anglo-Saxon art. They show wonderful progress in the direction of delicate workmanship. The perfection of Roman glass is universally acknowledged; and it is clear that the Saxons and the Franks must have learnt from the Romans something of this art, which they practised with so much elegance and good taste. Yet it would be going too far to say that these two peoples of Germanic origin had not themselves made discoveries in this direction. There is a great analogy in form and material between the vases of the Anglo-Saxons and those of Germany and France, and it is plain that at one period glass was manufactured in all these countries. It must be remembered, however, that, according to Bede, glass-workers were summoned from France to Great Britain in the seventh century, because the art of working in glass was then unknown in that country.

Certain easily recognised peculiarities distinguish the glass-work of the Anglo-Saxons from that of the Romans. One of the most characteristic features of the former is the thread or band in relief affixed to the outer surface. These threads are often in wavy spirals; in which fact we have, no doubt, an explanation of the

[1] "Misit legatorios Galliam, qui vitri factores, artifices videlicet Britannis catenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesias, porticuumque et caenaculorum ejus fenestras, adducerent. Factumque est, et venerunt. Nec solum postulatum opus compleverunt, sed et Anglorum ex eo gentem hujusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt."

[2] Fowler, p. 99.

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of pl. ii.

[4] "Bibit in aureis semper poculis; aspernatus vitrum, dicens nil esse eo communius" (Pollio Trebellius, *In Gallieno*).

word *twisted*, applied in the oldest Saxon poem to vessels of this character used at a banquet.[1]

One characteristic of these vases is their rounded or pointed base, as in the Roman *futile*. When these spherical cups were filled they could only be held comfortably in the hollow of the hand. Glasses of this nature were used at great banquets, and on more ordinary occasions. They were, in fact, goblets which had to be emptied before they could be set down on the table.[2] Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Wright are practically agreed as to the fact that Anglo-Saxon glass differs from Roman in being lighter and of inferior texture. It is also more subject to the decay which destroys its transparence, and produces iridescent tints. These differences, however, between the Roman and the Barbarian productions must not be taken to throw any doubt on the skill of the Anglo-Saxon glass-workers, who impressed a distinctive character on their handiwork by the addition of ornamentation in the form of twisted threads of glass.[3] Mr. Akerman, referring to some of these vessels discovered in a cemetery at Cuddesden, Oxfordshire (pl. xiv., fig. 4), says that this style of decoration contributed in some degree to strengthen the glass.[4] These wavy bands were affixed to the vase whilst almost in a state of fusion.

Anglo-Saxon vases are generally without feet, and are considered by archæologists to be drinking vessels. They have been called *tumblers*, because they could not stand upright, and this name has been extended to all vessels used for drinking purposes.[5]

The use of a form of drinking vessel which would not stand has been considered a sufficient reason for attributing drinking habits to the Anglo-Saxons.[5] We will only remark that vessels of a similar character, made of very thin glass, have also been found in Continental Europe;[6] so that the accusation brought against the Anglo-Saxons must be extended to the other Barbarian nations.

[1] "The thane observed his office
He that in his hand bare
The twisted ale-cup."
(*Beowulf*, line 983.)

[2] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. Description of pls. xviii. and xix.—It is said that this is the origin of the proverb, "When the wine is poured out it must be drunk."

[3] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 495.

[4] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 11.

[5] Those who take an interest in classical antiquity will be acquainted with the Greek drinking vessels bearing the inscription, ΓΡΟΡΙΝΕ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΘΗΙΣ (Drink, and do not put down thy glass). See the Durand Catalogue, p. 295.—Panofka, *Recherches sur les Noms des Vases*, pl. v., p. 30, and also *Musée Blacas*, pl. xxv., p. 3.

[5] *Archæologia*, vol. xlv., p. 469.

[6] Baudot, *Sépultures Barbares*, pl. xxi., figs. 3, 4, and 6.—Cemeteries of Oyes, Villevenard and Joches (Marne), Musée de Baye.—Cemetery of Sablonnière (Aisne), *Collection Caranda*, pl. i., fig. 3; graves of Caranda (Aisne), *Collection Caranda*, pl. xlv., fig. 3.

Among glass vessels without feet we must mention those in the form of a horn (pl. xiv., fig. 2 ; pl. xv., fig. 2). These drinking vessels are very interesting, as recalling the ancient horns which were used for the same purpose. One of the specimens, which we have figured, was taken from a grave at Linton Heath (Cambridgeshire), placed near the skull, together with a large sea-shell of the genus *cyprea*. This vase, which is funnel-shaped, is of a greenish colour, thin, with regular

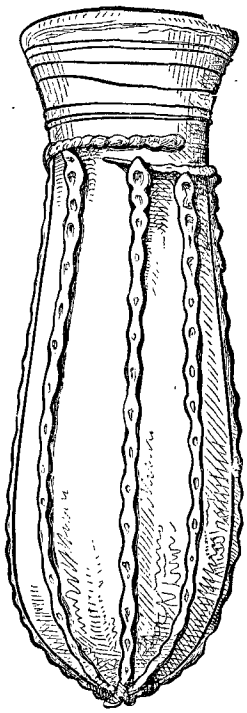

FIG. 28. GLASS VASE FROM FAVERSHAM, KENT.

undulations, and decorated with threads of glass in relief (pl. xiv., fig. 2).[1] The example discovered, with human remains and some iron weapons, at Dinton[2] (Buckinghamshire) is very similar. We reproduce in pl. xv., fig. 2, another horn-shaped specimen found at Kempston (Bedfordshire).[3] In addition, Mr. Wright has described two other vases[4] of this character, which indeed are found in considerable numbers both in England and in the other countries occupied by the Barbarians.[5]

[1] *The Archæological Journal*, 1854, vol. xi., p. 109.
[2] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. xvi., fig. 5.—*Archæological Index*, pl. xiv., figs. 13 and 14.
[3] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., pl. xxxix.
[4] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 495.
[5] Graves of Éprave (Belgium), Namur Museum.—F. Moreau's Collection.

Another group consists of semi-spherical vases (pl. xiv., fig. 6, and pl. xv., fig. 5). The first of these, an illustration of which is given by Douglas, comes from Chatham, Kent.[1] The second, olive-green in tint, comes from Kingston Down (Kent), and was taken intact from the grave of a woman.[2] Similar specimens form part of the Anglo-Saxon remains discovered at Desborough (Northamptonshire)[3] and Sibertswold (Kent).[4] Douglas has figured, in *Nenia Britannica*, a considerable number of glass vases taken from the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Kent (pl. xiv., figs. 3 and 6). He calls attention to the fact that they are generally confined to those graves in which female ornaments are found.[5]

Among the longer vases several are worthy of mention: that from Gilton, near Sandwich, for instance, is remarkable for a long neck, round which winds a spiral thread ending in a band of glass, which forms a sort of collar.

From this point perpendicular bands, with indented ornamentation, descend to the rounded base, where they unite. This specimen, which is olive-green in colour and very transparent, holds about a pint.[6]

A very simple example (fig. 28) was found at Faversham, Kent, and is now in the South Kensington Museum.[7] It is about twenty-five centimetres long, and ten in diameter.

We have now to mention a very characteristic form, which belongs properly to the Frankish cemeteries, but which nevertheless is found in Kent. A vase discovered at Woodensborough, near Sandwich, illustrated in pl. xiv., fig. 1, belongs to this category. It is formed of brownish glass, of the shade known as *feuille morte*, is very graceful in outline, and is so light that its weight is scarcely appreciable in the hand. Its decoration consists of threads of glass encircling the mouth, while below it ends in a knob, which, solely owing to its thickness, is quite opaque. This specimen was discovered as long ago as the end of the last century. Thirty Anglo-Saxon vases from the same locality were preserved at a farm-house in the neighbourhood, and were always brought out to celebrate the harvest-home,[8] thus reverting, after many centuries, to their original use.[9]

[1] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, pl. iv., fig. 5.

[2] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xviii., fig. 5, and p. 20.

[3] "Anglo-Saxon Discoveries at Desborough, Northamptonshire," *Archæologia*, vol. xlv., p. 469.

[4] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xix.

[5] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*. Vessel of glass, p. 114.

[6] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xviii., fig. 2, and p. 34.

[7] Roach Smith, *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities Discovered at Faversham in Kent.* Introduction, p. xix. Catalogue, p. 19.

[8] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xvii., p. 33.

[9] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Preface, description of pls. xviii. and xix.

The vases with hollow protuberances or claws found in Anglo-Saxon graves form a highly interesting series. They are sufficiently important to require dealing with in considerable detail. In pl. xiv., fig. 5, and pl. xv., figs. 1, 2, 4 and 6, we have illustrated the best known of these remarkable productions so numerous in England.

The discovery of a vase of this class, accompanying human remains, was communicated to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1776. The grave contained, in addition, a sword, a spear, and a piece of pottery, and was at that time erroneously attributed to the Britons. A little later, in 1802, a similar specimen was found at Castle Eden, Durham, also in a grave,[1] and the same mistake was made as to its

RECULVER (KENT). SELZEN (GERMANY). FAIRFORD (GLOUCESTERSHIRE). DOUVREND (FRANCE).

FIG. 29. GLASS VASES FROM ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY.

origin.[2] The first glass of this character which was attributed to the Anglo-Saxons is that which is now to be seen in the Canterbury Museum. It was found at Reculver (pl. xv., fig. 6), and was first brought into notice by Mr. Roach Smith.[3] Its Saxon origin is clearly shown by its resemblance to the vase from the cemetery of Selzen.[4] The Abbé Cochet also exhumed a specimen of the same class at Douvrend, in Normandy.[5] These successive discoveries in England, France and Germany have given us contemporaneous vases belonging to this strongly marked type. In the cut which we annex (fig. 29) the examples discovered in these different countries are placed side by side for purposes of comparison.

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xv., pl. xxxvii., fig. 1.
[2] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of pl. xi.
[3] *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii., pl. li., fig. 3.—*Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. ii.
[4] Lindenschmit, *Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen*, p. 6, Mainz, 1848.
[5] Abbé Cochet, *La Normandie Souterraine*, pl. x., fig. 1, 1854.—*La Seine Inférieure*, p. 307.

The specimen in pl. xv., fig. 4, is very similar to the Douvrend piece; it was found at Fairford, and is figured by Wylie, the explorer of that cemetery.[1]

This remarkable vase, yellowish in colour and very singular in form, was lying near the skull; it was unfortunately broken when found, and there is reason to think that it had been placed in the grave in that condition. While glass vessels are frequently met with in Anglo-Saxon graves, specimens of the type at present under discussion are comparatively rare. This rarity has been the cause of an error on the part of Mr. Apsley Pellatt, who, deceived by their resemblance to certain productions of Southern Italy, assigned to them a very much earlier date.[2]

The Fairford vase and its congeners seem to answer to the description in barbarous Latin: *Vitrea vascula analypha fusilitate cœlata.*[3]

All these vases are amber, yellow or olive-green in colour; they usually have two rows of protuberances, and are encircled on the surface by numerous threads. The specimen found, with a skeleton and some weapons, at Ashford, Kent (pl. xiv., fig. 5), is justly considered the finest of the series;[4] it is in colour olive-green, and is specially noticeable as having three rows of protuberances.

We may also cite the vase from Taplow, Buckinghamshire (pl. xv., fig. 1), in which the claws are decorated throughout their length with twisted glass; a style of ornamentation which is also found in the vases of Fairford and Douvrend. Two other examples have been noted by Mr. Wright, one coming from a Saxon tomb in Hampshire, the other from Coombe, in East Kent.[5]

The specimens from Selzen, Germany, and Douvrend, France, are not the only vases of this character which have been found on the Continent. It is impossible to enumerate the whole of them, but we may quote those in the Museum of Namur, Belgium. In one of these, which comes from Éprave,[6] the claws are covered with greenish threads of twisted glass. Amongst the Frankish antiquities discovered at Harmignies, Belgium, the Baron de Loë mentions a glass decorated with large claws.[7]

In France, the collection of M. Jumel, of Amiens, contains one of the vases found at Hermes (Oise) by the Abbé Hamard. M. Pilloy collected a number of

[1] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, pl. i., p. 17.

[2] *Ibidem.*

[3] Muratori: "Pier Damiano scrive nella vita di Sant' Odilone, che gli fu donato, da Arrigo I. fra gl' Imperadori, *vas holovitreum valde pretiosum, et Alexandrini operis arte compositum*, più di sotto egli rammenta *vitrea vascula analypha fusilitate cœlata*," (Dissert. 24).

[4] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xlvi.

[5] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 497.

[6] Published in 1880 by M. Bequet.

[7] This vase measures 20 centimetres, and is apparently the second found in Belgium, (*Découverte d'Antiquités Franques à Harmignies par M. le Baron A. de Loë*, p. 6, Antwerp, 1886).

fragments of a similar glass at Grugies (Aisne) from the grave of a female. This specimen had only one row of protuberances. Another example is cited coming from Bellemberg-Vochringen; the whole surface is covered with ornamentation in the form of threads in relief, and it has two rows of claws in yellow glass.

It is evident, therefore, that these vases with large hollow protuberances, though comparatively rare, were in use throughout the various Barbarian tribes. In this connection the most interesting specimen is one which has been mentioned to me by Mr. Arthur Evans, who, in the course of his explorations, met with a vase of this type which had been found at Narona, Dalmatia, in the grave of an Ostrogoth chief.

Nothing is known of the use to which these vases were put. Mr. Akerman was of opinion that they had a sacred character, and were employed in certain rites or ceremonies of which we have no knowledge;[1] but the correctness of this supposition is at least open to doubt.

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, description of pl. ii.

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POTTERY.

CERAMIC art occupies an important place in the Barbarian cemeteries of England, owing to the abundance and the variety of its productions. In Kentish pottery, in particular, there is a striking resemblance to Continental types. We have collected in pl. xvi. some specimens from Kingston Down, Gilton, Chessell Down, Breach Down, and Faversham, which have a great analogy with the types characteristic of Frankish graves.

This similarity in mortuary furniture is noticeable not only in ceramic products, but also, as we have already pointed out, in glassware and jewellery. The relationship existing between the art-industries of Kent and the Isle of Wight, and those of Central Europe in general, and the Frankish cemeteries in particular, is still further emphasized by their potteries. The Faversham vase[1] (pl. xvi., fig. 6) and that of Chessell Down[2] (pl. xvi., fig. 4) are met with almost in replica in several Barbarian cemeteries of France and Germany. The circular cords or threads in relief, which often form the only decoration of Frankish pottery, are exactly reproduced in the Breach Down[3] specimen (pl. xvi., fig. 5). The difference between the pottery found in the graves of Kent and that coming from other parts of England is sufficiently marked to lead Mr. Wright to the conclusion that the Kent vases belong rather to Roman art.[4] He is further of opinion that pottery of Saxon manufacture is solely represented by the urns from those cemeteries where cremation was in use.[5]

The distinctive characteristics of the Kentish vessels show very plainly the effect of foreign influence. If mortuary urns containing bones alone represent Saxon ceramic art in England, how is it that we find none of them in Kent, when it is

[1] South Kensington Museum.

[2] British Museum.

[3] *Archæologia*, vol. xxx., pl. i.

[4] Must we not rather admit a Continental influence arising from the intercourse between the Franks and the inhabitants of Kent? The same influence is visible in their glassware and certain kinds of ornaments.

[5] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 492.

admitted that the Saxons were established in that county long before the arrival of the Angles in the East and the Midlands? The length of time which elapsed between the colonisation of Kent and that of the Midlands is sufficient to account for the differences which exist in the ceramic products of the respective districts. In discussing the origin of these mortuary urns Mr. Roach Smith suggests that they may possibly be attributed to the later Romano-British tribes.[1] This hypothesis, however, has little in its favour, for there is no similarity between the Roman and the Saxon urns. The latter, on the contrary, resemble much more closely those of the North of Germany, in those regions which formed the starting-point of the invaders of Great Britain.

The *Inventorium Sepulchrale* does not contain any representation of wide-mouthed urns intended to contain ashes. From this fact Mr. Roach Smith concludes that the burial grounds of Kent explored by Mr. Faussett belong to a period subsequent to the age of burning.[2] We reproduce (pl. xvi., figs. 1, 2, and 3) three vases found by Faussett, together with their decoration, enlarged to the natural size. The first and third of these are from Kingston Down,[3] the second from Gilton.[4] All the Kent vases, especially those of bottle shape, are much alike, but they differ very widely from the pottery found in other parts of England. Their points of resemblance and their characteristic local differences are alike easily recognisable.[5]

Northern Germany, Schleswig, and Denmark have produced mortuary urns similar to those of the Anglo-Saxons. The pottery from Kent and the south coast of England, on the other hand, finds its counterpart in the Merovingian cemeteries of the Rhenish provinces and France.

The graves of Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire, contain certain types (pl. xvii., figs. 3, 6, and 9) which are transitional between the pottery of Kent and the urns coming from other parts of England. This transition is shown in the gradation which commences with fig. 9, in which the Southern influence manifests itself very clearly; in fig. 6 the type is beginning to free itself from that influence, while fig. 3, with its protuberances and its decoration, approaches very nearly to the urns of Little Wilbraham. In examining the numerous urns discovered near Derby (fig. 30), at Nottingham, in Bedfordshire (pl. xvii., figs. 4 and 8), Norfolk, Cambridgeshire (pl. xvii., figs. 2, 3, 6 and 9), and Yorkshire, we cannot but be struck by their great

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xiv. *et seq.*

[2] These differences may be attributed to different influences acting simultaneously. The urns of the North were probably an offshoot of the art of Scandinavia; while those of Kent and the Southern counties are traceable to intercourse with the Franks.

[3] Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xx., figs. 3 and 4.

[4] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xlvii., fig. 1.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. xlvi., description of pl. xx.

similarity. On the other hand the difference between these specimens and those of Kentish origin is so strongly marked that it is impossible to find the least resemblance between them.[1]

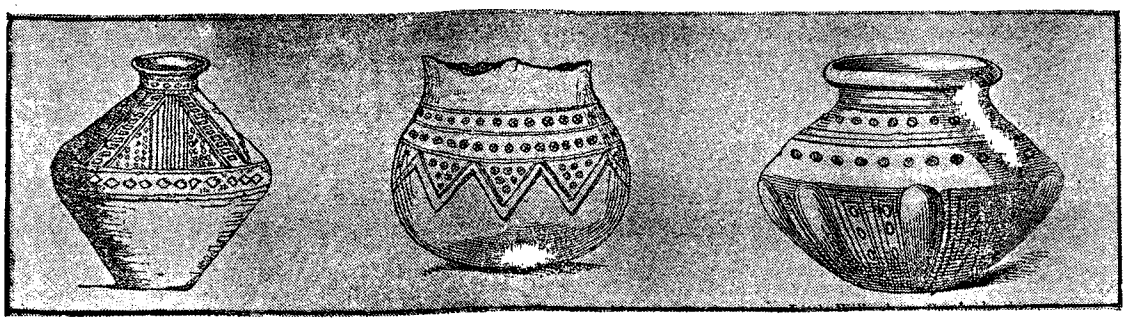
The cemetery of Little Wilbraham has produced a large number of pieces of pottery.[2] The two funeral rites, cremation and burial, were here practised simultaneously, so that we often find these urns accompanying skeletons; while of more than a hundred specimens which have been exhumed the greater number contained human ashes.[3] In some instances, it is true, interments by cremation were found in groups of three or four, apart from those by inhumation; but on the other hand mortuary urns filled with bones were constantly found in the near neighbourhood of

FIG. 30. URN FROM KINGSTON, NEAR DERBY.

skeletons, having apparently been buried contemporaneously with them. The objects accompanying these incinerated remains consisted of bronze tweezers, knives, iron spears, scissors, cruciform fibulæ, and glass beads, all showing some traces of the action of fire. Nearly all the urns contained fragments of bone combs; in one was found a small bronze bell, with iron clapper; in another a pierced coin of Maximinus. The presence of these various objects proves that the two methods of disposing of the dead were contemporaneous. Neville is of opinion that mortuary urns found in proximity to skeletons contained the remains of relations or friends who were still faithful to the customs of their ancestors. The practice of cremation, however, was falling into desuetude, and at the period when Little Wilbraham was being used as a burial ground was but rarely employed.[4] We reproduce below several pieces of pottery (fig. 31), one of which was discovered in the cemetery in question.

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xiv.
[2] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. xxiv. to xxxiv.
[3] Professor Owen has declared these to be human bones.
[4] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 10.

Almost all the interest attaching to the cemetery of Kempston (Bedfordshire) is centred in the urns, of which we illustrate three (pl. xvii., figs. 4, 7 and 8). These mortuary vessels were generally found but a little distance below the surface; several, doubtless, contained the remains of some of the first invaders who established themselves in Great Britain. Mr. Roach Smith, who has made a careful study of this group of graves, assigns an earlier date to the rite of cremation than to that of burial; though there can be no doubt that at one period they were practised simultaneously. Mr. Finch does not attribute the former rite exclusively to the pagans and the latter to the Christians. Urns enclosing human ashes belong apparently to the pagan period; but it is quite possible that graves containing com-



CESTEROVER (WARWICKSHIRE). MARSTON HILL (NORTHAMPTONSHIRE). LITTLE WILBRAHAM (CAMBRIDGESHIRE).

FIG. 31. MORTUARY URNS.

plete skeletons may occasionally be pagan. The considerations suggested by the Kempston graves do not seem to Mr. Finch to be sufficiently definite to apply to other cemeteries.[1] It must be noted, however, that so far as Little Wilbraham and Kempston are concerned the conditions are identical, and authorise the same conclusions.

For a very long time Anglo-Saxon urns were classed as products of British ceramic art; indeed, it was not till about 1852 that a more extended knowledge of their characteristics led to their being attributed to the Barbarian epoch. They are made of a dark clay, varying from dusky brown to black, generally hand-potted and badly baked.

They are often ornamented with very prominent protuberances (pl. xvii., fig. 3); at other times they are decorated with zigzag designs (pl. xvii., fig. 4), or more often with simple geometrical figures, circular (pl. xvii., fig. 9) or square (pl. xvii.,

1 "Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Kempston," *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 219.

fig. 2), produced by means of a wooden punch.[1] The objects which are so often found in company with these urns prove that they belong to the epoch of the earliest Saxon settlements in England. This conclusion derives additional authority from the resemblance existing between the mortuary furniture of the Continental countries originally occupied by the Saxons and Angles and the productions yielded by the graves of the first invaders of Great Britain.

In a report[2] on the rites of burial and cremation Kemble has gone into many important details of this question, and has recorded some facts with regard to the practice of cremation amongst the Saxons. The researches which he undertook in those German regions which were the cradle of the Anglo-Saxons were carried out with the happiest results. Kemble established the existence of urns similar to those of the Anglo-Saxons in Jutland, in certain parts of Friesland, on the banks of the Elbe, in Westphalia, Thuringia, parts of Saxony, near Hoga, and in other places on the banks of the Weser. His explorations were equally crowned with success in Germany, east of the Rhine, west of the Elbe and Saale, and north of the Mein. In all these countries, occupied at different periods by the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons, the practice of cremation predominates; in some regions, however, both rites were in use.

Kemble explains the rarity of skeletons in these countries by the fact that the practice of cremation had been generally followed, for a lengthened period, by the Teutonic races; while the abandonment of this rite is characteristic of those localities which were won over to Christianity.[3]

Kemble recognises the striking resemblance between Anglo-Saxon urns and those of Stade on the Elbe. He brings out the similarity by placing them side by side in two plates of the *Horæ Ferales*.[4] These mortuary vessels, filled with burnt bones and ashes, also contained the ornaments and utensils which were dedicated to the dead by the affectionate care of the living. Many among these objects have been subjected to the action of the funeral pyre, and especially those which were worn by the deceased at the moment of incineration, namely, buckles, brooches, fibulæ, buckle-plates, buttons, and considerable quantities of glass beads of various

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 492.

[2] Communicated to the Archæological Institute.

[3] Kemble remarks, that whether contemporaneous or not, whether in the same locality or in different countries, interment by cremation is pagan, and by inhumation, Christian. If there be any doubt on this subject, it is capable of another explanation. Half-converted Christians retained for some length of time the rite of cremation; but it is improbable that any pagan Saxon was interred without having first been placed on the funeral pyre.

[4] Nearly all these urns belong to the Museum of the Historical Society of Hanover, (Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 94: Group I., Urns from North Germany; Group II., Urns found in England).

colours. These articles, however, were not always passed through the fire; they were at times, no doubt, placed on the top of the ashes after these had been deposited in the urn. Kemble clearly traced this custom in different parts of Germany, and it is further indicated in the *Norse Sögur*.[1]

In the cemeteries of Northern Europe mortuary urns are generally very soberly and simply decorated. The decoration consists of indented lines, in combination with points, impressed on the clay with a piece of pointed wood, or some other rough tool of similar character. The urns of Stade, like those of Eye and Little Wilbraham, show protuberances or bosses; indeed, if they were of metal instead of malleable clay one would say that they were hammered. The raised ornament has generally been obtained by the pressure of the thumb, and smoothed off with a piece of wood while the clay was still wet. The decoration, whether sunk or in relief, has, as a rule, been roughly executed by the hand, and is naturally more or less irregular. The principal decoration of the urn in the Towneley Collection (British Museum)[2] and of the Haslingfield vase (pl. xvii., fig. 9), to mention only two examples, has been executed by means of a rough wooden punch.[3] This ornamentation is very general on urns of the same type found at Little Wilbraham, and on the specimens described in *Hydriotaphia*,[4] and is present in at least one example found in Northamptonshire.[5] It appears, in fact, to be the style of decoration most thoroughly characteristic of the Saxon urns found in England.

The ornamentation, however rude, obtained by the use of the punch, unquestionably marks an advance in artistic merit from the ill-potted, half-baked mortuary urns of the Age of Burning. The round indentations on the Eye urn must have been made with the point of the little finger while the clay was still wet. The same method has been adopted in the case of several specimens of pottery from Stade. A similar style of decoration is traceable in the urns of Nieuburg and Wolpe, on the Weser,[6] and of the principality of Luneburg,[7] and is produced by the same processes of manufacture.

During a lengthened stay in Germany, Kemble at first adopted the views of certain German archæologists who attributed to the Slavonians the urns found at

[1] "On Mortuary Urns found at Stade-on-the-Elbe and other parts of North Germany," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi.

[2] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. iv.

[3] This system of decoration is frequently found on Frankish vessels, and is no doubt obtained by the same process.

[4] Thomas Browne, *Hydriotaphia*. Edition of 1658.

[5] Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i., p. 42.

[6] Explorations of Count Münster.

[7] Excavations of Kemble.

Stade. Generalising from this idea, the English antiquarian assigned a similar origin to the pottery of Eye, regarding it as a relic of the Slavonians, who had, perhaps, formed an unimportant colony on the east coast of England.

But the discovery of similar urns, in considerable number, in various counties, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Derbyshire, Sussex, Gloucestershire, and Warwickshire, caused the prompt abandonment of any hypothesis importing a Slavonic element. These urns, similar in form, colour, size, and material to those discovered in Germany, have, with the latter, been considered as Germanic. Vessels employed for similar purposes by the ancient Saxons and by the Anglo-Saxons were assigned the same origin. They could not be Celtic, for their presence has been noted at Luneburg; nor could they possibly be Slavonic, for they have been found in Warwickshire. They are Saxon, without doubt, for the Saxons have inhabited the two countries in which they are met with.[1] The persevering researches of Kemble contributed greatly to the progress of Anglo-Saxon archæology, interpreting and completing the English discoveries by the light of the monuments of Northern Germany.

The facts relating to Anglo-Saxon ceramic art above set forth show, in its main features, the interesting part it played among the Barbarian invaders of Great Britain. We have indicated with sufficient clearness the sources to which archæologists may turn in order to acquaint themselves with the different aspects of Anglo-Saxon pottery. Details, technical and circumstantial, are beyond the scope of our design, and their consideration would have led us too far afield.

[1] "On Mortuary Urns found at Stade-on-the-Elbe and other parts of North Germany," *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi.

ANGLO-SAXON GRAVES.

THE Anglo-Saxons established in Great Britain preserved for a considerable period their pagan customs and their attachment to the traditions of their native country. It is impossible to determine, with accuracy, the date at which they abandoned paganism; everything, indeed, leads to the belief that its disappearance was gradual, as in other countries where pagan customs still existed side by side with the practice of Christianity. Anglo-Saxon civilisation, introduced by the earliest invaders, survived at least in part until the establishment of Christianity was complete. The period begins about the middle of the fifth century, and finishes in the seventh.[1]

When St. Gregory the Great sent missionaries to England Kent was already in regular communication with the tribes of Gaul. Æthelbert, King of Kent, had married, in 560, Bertha, daughter of the Frankish king of Paris,[2] and this Christian princess had brought her chaplain with her to Canterbury. But Gregory had greater designs; he confided the mission of evangelising England to Augustine, who, accompanied by forty monks, landed in the Isle of Thanet in 597. King Æthelbert was prepared to adopt the religion already followed on the Continent; he and all his Court were converted almost immediately. The people very quickly followed the example of their king, and thus Kent was bound by yet another tie to France.[3]

The change, however, worked very slowly amongst the masses, and the old order of things continued for a considerable period. Even a hundred years later we find a capitulary of Charlemagne forbidding the Saxons to inter their dead *more paganorum*, and ordering burial in consecrated ground.[4] These edicts are themselves sufficient proof of the persistence of pagan customs.

The excavation of Anglo-Saxon graves has revealed the existence of a practice

[1] The baptism of the Northumbrians, the last converts, took place in 628.

[2] Charibert, King of Paris (561-567), gave his daughter Bertha in marriage to Æthelbert, on condition that he left her free to practise the Christian religion, as also her almoner, Bishop Létard. (Bede, lib. ix., cap. 25.—Gregory of Tours, lib. iv., cap. 26.)

[3] Grant Allen, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, pp. 85 and 86. London, 1884.

[4] "Jubemus ut corpora Christianorum Saxonum ad cœmeteria Ecclesiæ deferantur et non ad *tumulos* paganorum" (Capit., Anno 789, *Corpus juris Germanici Antiqui*, ed. Walter, t. ii., p. 107. Berlin, 1824).

which, indeed, could not escape attention. It was Douglas who first remarked fragments of pottery, generally of more ancient date than the grave, mixed with the earth which was scattered over the skeleton. Several circumstances tend to show that these fragments were thrown in intentionally. Their presence always indicates a grave, and explorers look on them as a favourable augury for their researches. Mr. Wylie learnt this lesson for himself in his exploration of Fairford, and without being influenced by any other archæologist, arrived at precisely the same conclusions as Douglas, whose *Nenia Britannica* he had never read.[1] These two English writers drew identical inferences, though at very different periods, comparing this funeral custom to a superstitious practice mentioned by Shakespeare. At the moment of burial potsherds were, *more paganorum*, thrown upon the corpse of a suicide.[2]

The sherds taken from Anglo-Saxon graves were not fragments of vessels freshly broken by the relatives and friends of the deceased, but had been previously collected, and left lying on the ground, to be thus used when occasion required. Fragments of a recently broken vessel did not, apparently, fulfil the conditions demanded for this funeral usage.[3] It is difficult to say for how long a period these superstitious practices were in vogue, but the edicts which were directed against them show clearly enough that they survived the introduction of Christianity. They are proscribed by the canons of Eadgard, while Charlemagne, at the same epoch, in his capitularies forbad his Saxon subjects to offer sacrifices to the dead.

Bones, and in particular the teeth, of ruminants have been found in great number in the pagan Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Their presence is due to a practice which the first Christians were with difficulty persuaded to abandon.[4] Certain of the con-

[1] Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 25.

[2] "Her death was doubtful;
And, but that great command o'ersways the order,
She should in ground unsanctified have lodg'd,
Till the last trump. For charitable prayers,
Sherds, flints, and pebbles, should be thrown on her."
(*Hamlet*, Act V., Sc. 1.)

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Introduction, p. xvii.

[4] Some priests even were addicted to the superstition, as we learn from a letter of St. Boniface: "Pro sacrilegis itaque *presbyteris*, ut scripsisti, qui tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant, *manducantes sacrificia mortuorum*, habentes et pollutum ministerium ipsique adulteri esse inventi sunt et defuncti" (St. Boniface, Epist. 71).—The teeth found in Anglo-Saxon graves come from animals of the species mentioned in the above passage.—The Capitularies of Charlemagne forbad all pagan ceremonies at interments: "Admoneantur fideles ut ad suos mortuos non agant ea quæ de paganorum ritu remanserunt. Et quando eos ad sepulturam portaverint, illum ululatum excelsum non faciant . . . et super eorum tumulos nec manducare nec bibere præsumant" (*Capit. Karoli magni et Ludovici Pii*, lib. vi., c. 197).—Pagan songs at interments are forbidden by the 24th canon of Ælfric.—In the middle of the fifteenth century this custom was still observed in the Diocese of Samland, and was condemned in an episcopal rescript (*vide* Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, Bd. 6, 753, 754, 1834 edition).

verted tribes long retained the custom of offering sacrifices over their graves. The teeth which are found in them come, apparently, from the heads of animals placed over the graves, on huge stakes, as offerings to the gods; they remained in this situation, subject to atmospheric influences, until in time the teeth became detached, and were scattered over the ground. When the earth was re-opened for fresh burials in the same place they became mixed with the soil which was used to fill up the grave. The documents previously quoted prove the existence of an Anglo-Saxon period when pagan customs still held sway, even after the establishment of Christianity.

Anglo-Saxon tumuli, when in good preservation, consist of an artificial mound, surrounded by a ditch. Under the mound is a grave, varying in depth from 90 to 180 centimetres.[1] The skeleton is generally lying on the back, with the head sometimes towards the west,[2] more often towards the north. This difference in direction is evidently the result of special tribal customs. The body was fully dressed, and accompanied by the objects to which the deceased had been attached during life; the grave was then filled in, and the tumulus erected above it.[3]

The tumulus was not known only by the name of *mound*; it was also called *hlœw*, that is to say, hill, from which the word *low* is also derived.[4] *Beorh*, *beorg* and *bearw*, from which comes the modern *barrow*, have the same meaning. In Sussex tumuli are still called *burghs*.

The poem of Beowulf affords much interesting information on the customs of the Anglo-Saxons while they were still worshippers of Odin.[5] It contains a description of the ceremonies which accompanied the obsequies of the hero. Beowulf had asked that after his death his people should raise, on the spot where his funeral pyre had been,[6] a tumulus or barrow, the size of which should be commensurate with the

[1] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Introduction, p. viii.

[2] For the most part in graves of Kent and Sussex.

[3] Amongst the Northern tribes the body was burnt, and the ashes deposited under a tumulus.—*Anglo-Saxon Britain*, p. 75, by Grant Allen. London, 1884.

[4] *Low* is still in use in Shropshire; for example, Ludlow.

[5] This Anglo-Saxon poem was brought out by Kemble in 1837. Another edition, which is more easily consulted, appeared in 1855, under the auspices of Mr. Thorpe.

[6] "Hung round with helmets,
With boards of war (shields)
And with bright byrnies (coats of mail),
As he had requested.
Then the heroes, weeping,
Laid down in the midst
The famous chieftain,

fame of his exploits. In obedience to his orders, an enormous pyre was built to burn his corpse; his subjects then commenced to raise the tumulus.[1]

When the mound was completed the warriors danced round it, making the welkin ring with the praises of their departed king.

The derivation of the word *bury* is a tolerably clear indication that among the primitive Anglo-Saxons burial took place under a tumulus; this was the custom of the ancient Saxons, and had been faithfully preserved.

Anglo-Saxon barrows are usually found in groups, forming cemeteries. The moderate height of the tumulus which covers each grave may be explained by the action of time. Sometimes these artificial hillocks are isolated, and their Saxon origin is only betrayed by the graves which they conceal. They are generally on rising ground, and often near to the sea. A conical hill near Folkestone is crowned

Their dear lord.
Then began on the hill,
The warriors, to awake
The mightiest of funeral fires;
The wood-smoke rose aloft,
Dark from the fire;
Noisily it went,
Mingled with weeping."

A mound over the sea;
It was high and broad,
By the sailors over the waves
To be seen afar.
And they built up
During ten days
The beacon of the war-renowned.
They surrounded it with a wall
In the most honourable manner
That wise men
Could desire.
They put into the mound
Rings and bright gems,
All such ornaments
As before from the hoard
The fierce-minded men
Had taken;
They suffered the earth to hold
The treasure of warriors,
Gold on the sand,
Where it yet remains
As useless to men
As it was of old."

(*Beowulf*, line 6268.)

with one of these remarkable Saxon mounds.[1] These elevated situations were chosen in preference by the Saxons; a predilection which is explained by several passages in the poem of Beowulf.[2]

At the same time numerous graves have been opened, in various localities, which were not surmounted by tumuli. We may mention, among the number, the cemeteries of Barrow Furlong (Northamptonshire),[3] Fairford (Gloucestershire),[4] Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire),[5] and Harnham Hill (Wiltshire.)[6] It is a question whether we must conclude from the absence of any mound, when the latter cemetery was opened, that none had ever existed. It seems clear, however, from the proximity of the graves to each other, that they could not have been marked each by a barrow. If it were so, the barrows must have been of very small dimensions, and in no way resembling those generally raised at the same period, which are larger and cover more ground.[7]

Two modes of disposing of the dead were in use among the Barbarians established in England[8]—cremation and burial. These funeral rites varied in different tribes, as excavations have shown. After the Saxons in Kent had ceased to burn their dead[9] the practice of cremation was universal among the Angles from

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 469.

[2] "Command the war-chiefs
To make a mound,
Bright after the funeral fire,
Upon the nose of the promontory;
Which shall for a memorial
To my people
Rise high aloft
On Hronesness;
That the sea-sailors
May afterwards call it
Beowulf's barrow
When the Brentings
Over the darkness of the floods
Shall sail afar."

(*Beowulf*, line 5599.)

Archæologia, vol. xxxiii., p. 326.

[4] *Fairford Graves.*

[5] Neville, *Saxon Obsequies.*

[6] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., p. 259.

[7] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Introduction, p. xiii.

[8] Anglo-Saxon graves have always a distinctive character, which makes it impossible to mistake them for those of the Romans or the Britons.

[9] Kent, favoured by its geographical position, was probably largely affected by Continental influence.—*Anglo-Saxon Britain*, p. 99, by Grant Allen. London, 1884.

Norfolk to the centre of Mercia.[1] Cluver asserts, as an historical fact, that cremation was in general use in every country, and especially in the British Isles.[2]

In Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, and Gloucestershire burial and cremation were apparently contemporaneous. The evidence previously quoted with regard to these ceremonies is well worthy of the attention of archæologists and ethnologists. It seems to show, moreover, that a Teutonic tribe had penetrated into Britain prior to the settlement of the Saxons in Kent. This invasion probably dates back to the period when Carausius tried to found an empire there in the reigns of Diocletian and Maximianus.[3] These speculations show how conscientiously Anglo-Saxon graves have been studied; but they cannot be said as yet to have acquired any degree of certitude.

Archæologists are unanimous in recognising the pagan character of cremation, but, as we have already said, the rite of burial is not in every case Christian. The cemetery of Kempston, for instance, where both methods of disposing of the dead were employed contemporaneously,[4] is of earlier date than the introduction of Christianity.[5]

The Anglo-Saxons generally chose as the site of their cemeteries some elevated spot near their settlements. Saxon burial-places are always situated near the cities in the occupation of which the Barbarians succeeded the Romans, and in some cases they occupy the same position as the Roman cemetery. This is the case at Colchester, Canterbury, and some other places.[6]

The capitularies of Charlemagne contain very severe measures, directed, in certain circumstances, against the burial-places of pagans;[7] and there is reason to believe that similar severity was exercised in England after the introduction of Christianity. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued an edict reciting the prohibitions and penalties set forth in the capitularies.[8] From the earliest times, after

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 465.

[2] "Sed morem hunc cremandi mortuorum corpora, non modo universis celtis nostris, per Illiricum, Germaniam, Galliam, Hispaniam, Britannicas Insulas; verum toti terrarum orbi fuisse communem, veteres ubique testantur historiæ." *Philip Cluverii Germaniæ* antiq., lib. i., p. 393 *et seq.*

[3] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Introduction, p. xiii.

[4] Selzen has produced the same objects as the Anglo-Saxon barrows. Both practices were in use in this locality, but burial predominates.—Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 494.

[5] "Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Kempston" *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi., p. 219.

[6] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 470.

[7] "Ecclesiam in qua mortuorum cadavera infidelium sepeliuntur, sanctificare non licet. Sed si apta videtur ad consecrandum, *inde avulso corpore*, et rasis vel lotis lignis ejus rædificetur. Si hæc consecrata prius fuit, missas in ea celebrare licet; si tamen fideles fuerint qui in ea sepulta sunt" (*Capit. Karoli M. et Ludov. Pii.—Corpus juris Germanici Antiqui*, ed. Walter, tome ii., p. 524).

[8] Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, *Liber Pœnitentialis*, xlvii., § I. (*Lois et Institutions Anciennes*, ed. Thorpe, vol. ii., p. 56).

the conversion of the Barbarians, there was a general tendency towards the destruction of temples and of famous tombs which perpetuated the pagan tradition. Christian edifices inaugurated a new order of things, to replace the memories of paganism; and it is found that the churches were built, if not on the sites of ancient cemeteries, at least very near them. This fact has been remarked at Mentmore (Buckinghamshire)[1] and Lewes (Sussex).[2]

Although the general character of all Anglo-Saxon graves is the same, there are a few special peculiarities which we may notice. As a rule the grave contained but one skeleton; there are instances, however, of two, three, or even four being found together. In these unusual cases the burial of all the bodies was simultaneous, and it is fair to suppose that they were members of the same family carried off by an epidemic, or killed during some sudden piratical raid.[3]

The most ancient burials among the Anglo-Saxons were carried out in the following way. The body, fully dressed, was wrapped in a large winding-sheet, and placed in the grave, the sides of which were lined with large stones. This simple mode of burial, however, was not practised to the exclusion of more elaborate methods; for stone and wooden coffins have been found,[4] while Mr. Akerman has noted in Kent fragments of cists, fastened with iron clamps.[5] The Capitularies are in agreement with the discoveries of archæology as to the use of coffins of wood and stone among the Franks; while it is abundantly proved that the latter observed funeral customs very similar to those of the pagan Anglo-Saxons.[6]

The truth of the conclusions at which English archæologists have arrived with regard to the features of resemblance between the Frankish and the Saxon tribes is now pretty well established. It is generally admitted that, towards the end of the Roman Empire, the Franks were in touch with France, as the Saxons were with England; while the historical connection between the two peoples is beyond question. The Frankish burial-places of Germany and France have been identified; but this identification is a matter of comparatively recent date.

[1] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv., p. 379.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. ii., p. 50.

[3] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, p. 467.

[4] Wooden cists and coffins in stone and plaster are frequently found in the Barbarian cemeteries of France and Germany.

[5] Akerman, *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, Introduction, p. xv.

[6] "Si quis hominem mortuum, super alterum in *petra* aut in *naufo* miserit, sol. xxxv. culpabilis judicetur" (*Legis Salicæ*, tit. lviii., c. 3).—The same was the case with the Anglo-Saxons, for the following law, codified in the reign of Henry I., certainly existed before the Conquest: "Si quis corpus in terra, vel *noffo*, vel *petra*, sub pyramide vel structura qualibet positum sceleratus infamacionibus effodere vel exspoliare presumpserit, wargus habetur" (*Leges Henrici I.*, lxxxiii., § 5).

The mortuary furniture of the Franks, especially as regards arms, closely resembles that of the Saxons; in their jewellery and other ornaments, however, we find instances enabling us to distinguish what is Frank from what is Saxon. It is in pottery that we find the widest divergence of type between the two nations;[1] and notwithstanding the analogy otherwise existing, a practised eye will always be able to distinguish Frankish from Saxon graves whenever they contain artistic objects.

[1] Roach Smith, Introduction to the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pp. xv. and xvi.

PLATES.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

PLATE I.

SPEARS AND ANGONS.

1.—Angon from Strood (Kent).

2.—Spear from Henley-on-Thames (Oxon).

3.—Spear from Frilford (Oxon). (Ashmolean Museum.)

4.—Spear from Harnham Hill (Wiltshire).

5.—Spear from Driffield (Yorkshire).

6.—Spear from Harnham Hill (Wiltshire).

7.—Angon from Cavoran (Kent).

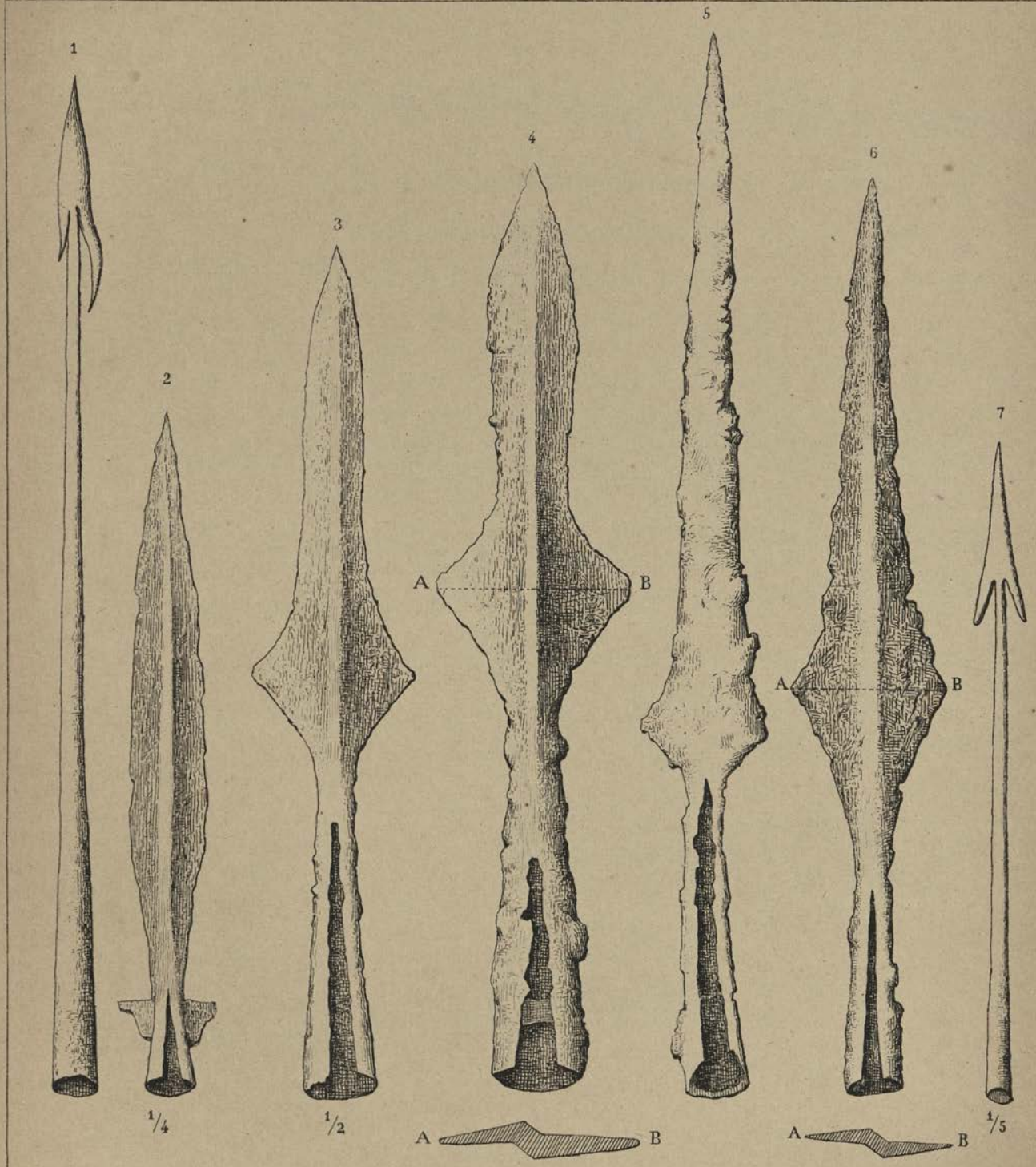


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PLATE II.

UMBONES.

1.—Fairford (Gloucestershire).

2.—Farthing Down (Surrey). (Ashmolean Museum.)

3.—Fairford (Gloucestershire).

4.—Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

5.—Sittingbourne (Kent).

6.—Driffield (Yorkshire).

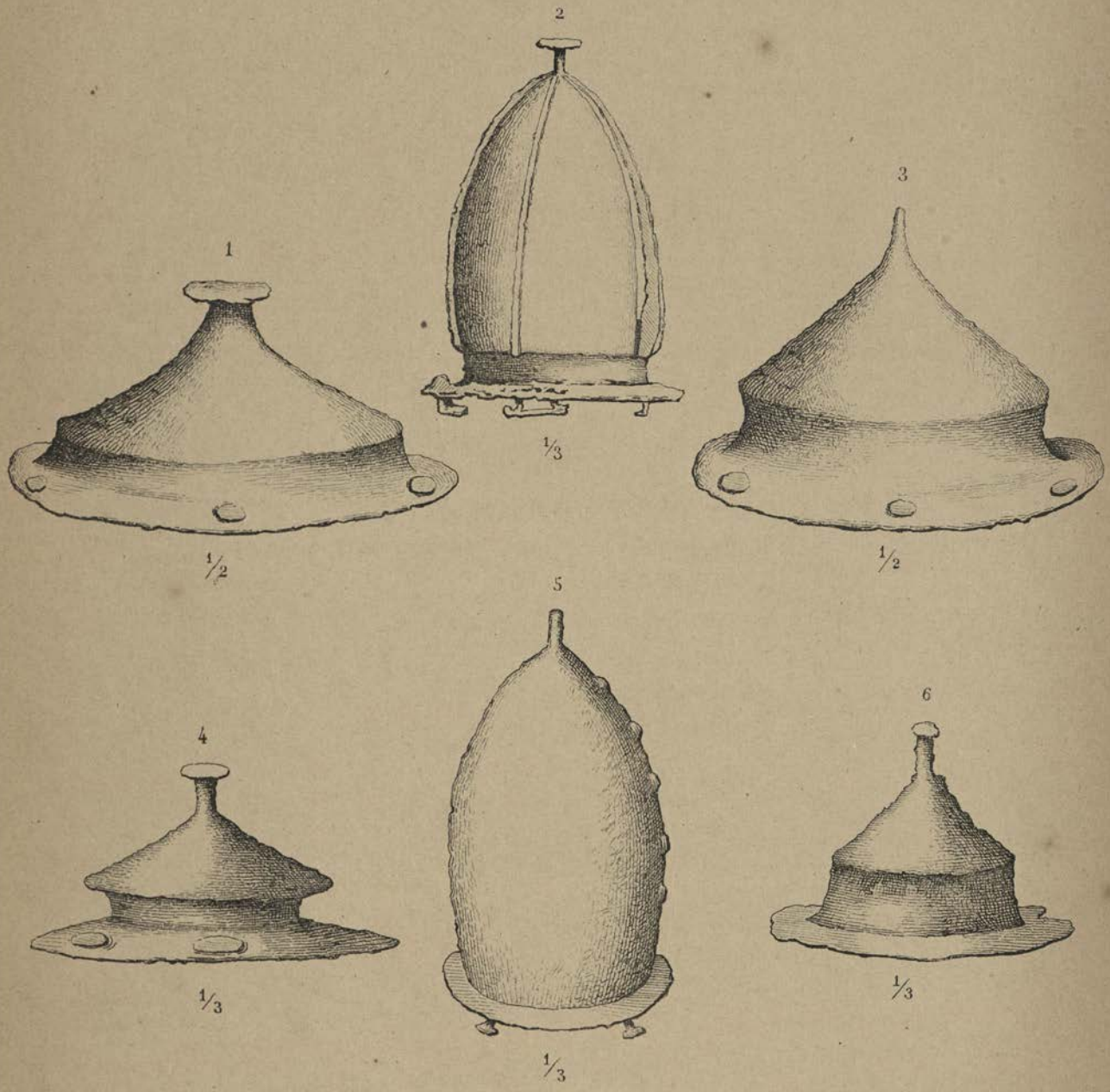
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PLATE III.

RADIATED FIBULÆ.

1.—Chatham (Kent). (Ashmolean Museum.)

2.—Silver-gilt, set with Garnets. Searby (Lincolnshire).

3.—Bronze. Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

4.—Bronze. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

5.—Bronze, gilt. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

6.—Bronze, gilt. Chatham (Kent). (Ashmolean Museum.)

7.—Bronze. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

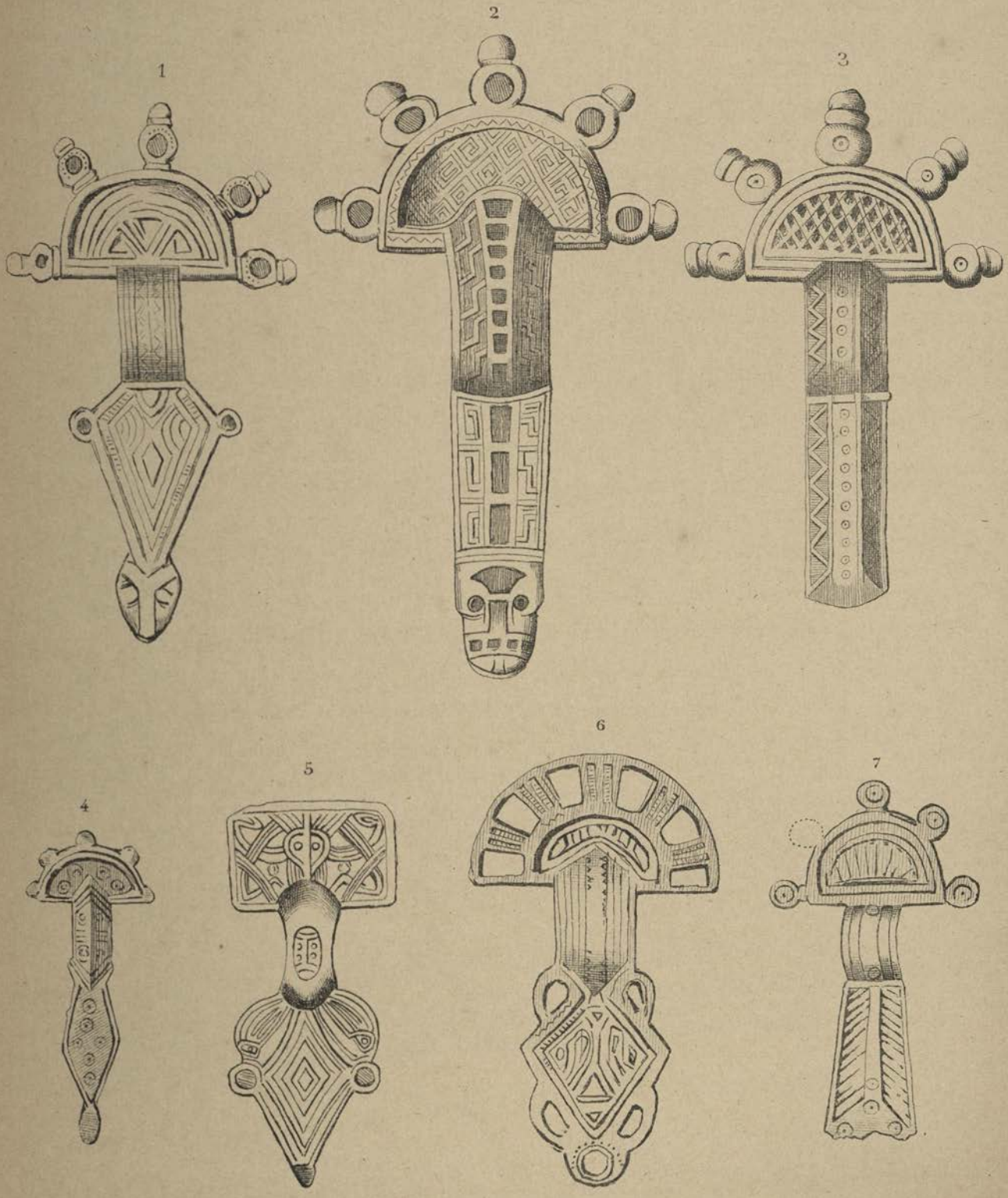

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PLATE IV.

BIRD-SHAPED FIBULÆ, HAIRPIN, S-SHAPED FIBULÆ.

1.—Bronze. Fairford (Gloucestershire).

2.—Bronze, gilt. Barrington (Cambridgeshire).

3.—Bronze, gilt, with a Garnet. Chessell Down (Isle of Wight). (British Museum.)

4.—Bronze, gilt. Chessell Down (Isle of Wight). (British Museum.)

5.—Silver, set with Garnets. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

6.—Bronze. Sleaford (Lincolnshire). (British Museum.)

7.—Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire). (Evans Collection.)

8.—Bronze, set with Garnets. Iffley (Oxon). (British Museum.)

9.—Bronze. Chessell Down (Isle of Wight.) (British Museum.)

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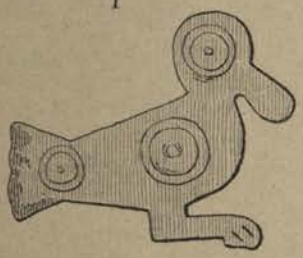

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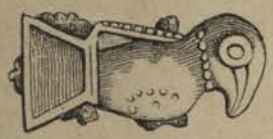

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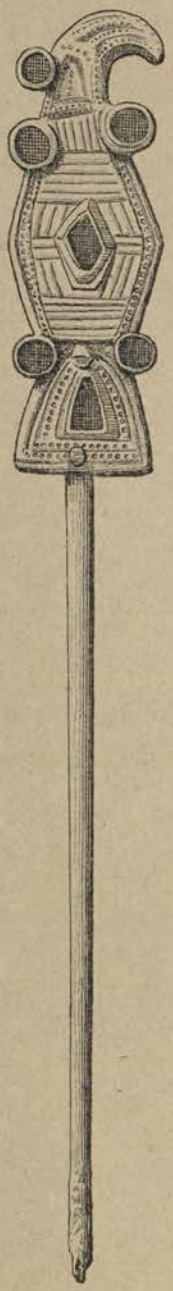

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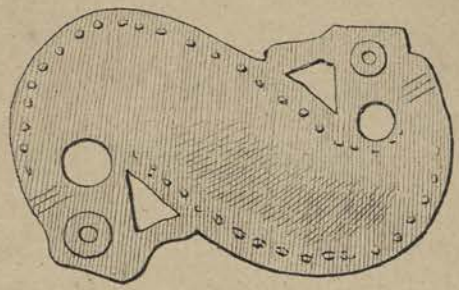

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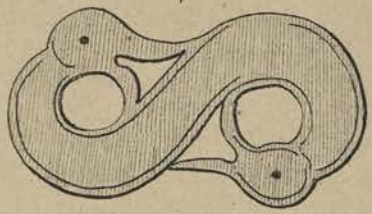

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PLATE V.

CRUCIFORM FIBULÆ.

1.—Bronze. Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

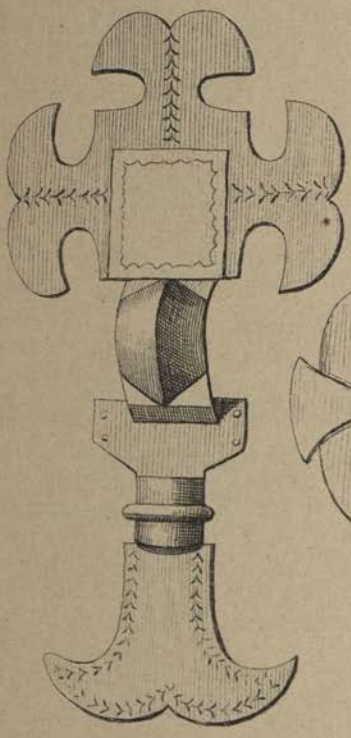
2.—Bronze. Barrington (Cambridgeshire).

3.—Bronze. Little Wilbraham, (Cambridgeshire).

4.—Bronze. Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire). (Evans Collection.)

5.—Bronze. Sporle (Norfolk). (Norwich Museum.)

1



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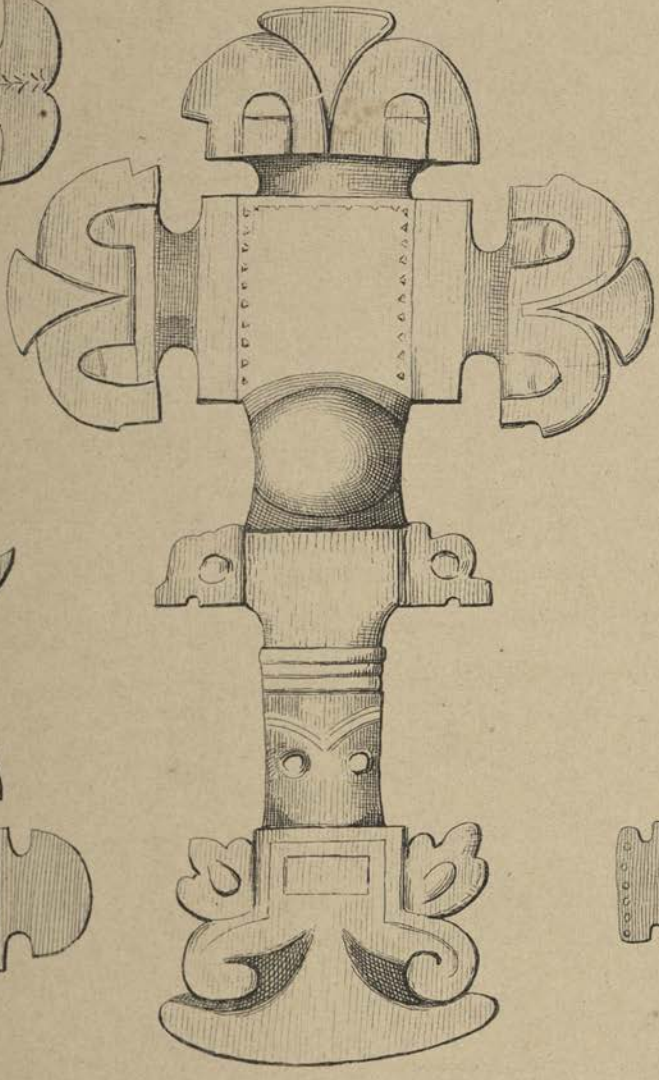

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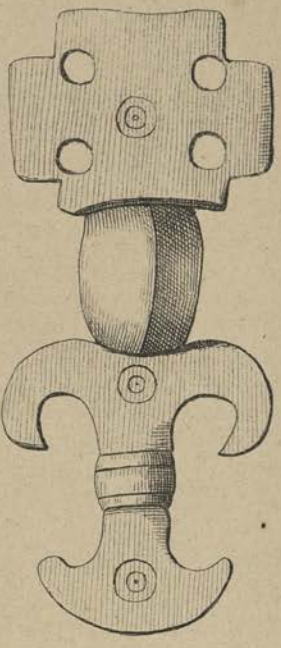

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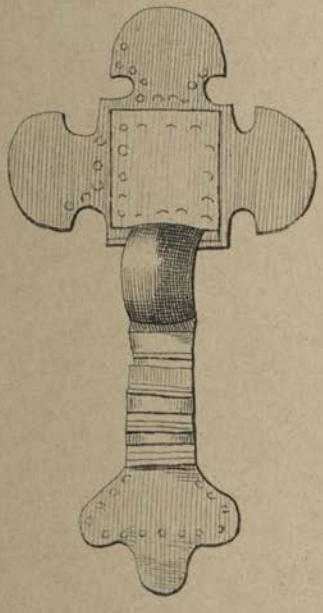

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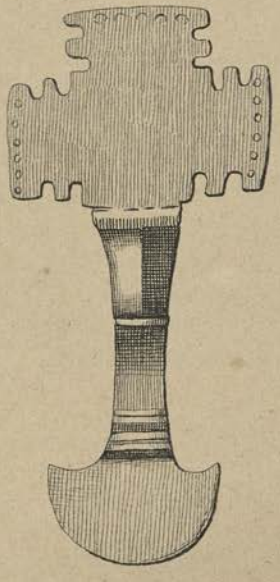

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PLATE VI.

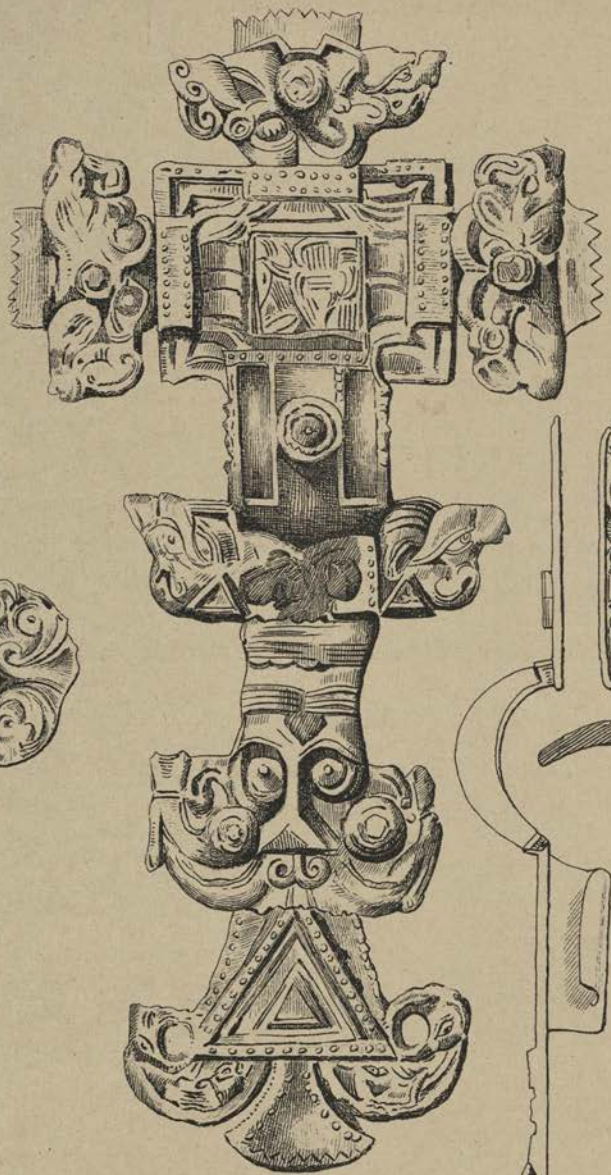
CRUCIFORM AND SQUARE-HEADED FIBULÆ.

1.—Bronze, gilt. Sleaford (Lincolnshire). (British Museum.)

2.—Bronze, parcel gilt. Sleaford (Lincolnshire). (British Museum.)

3.—Kenninghall (Norfolk). (British Museum.)

1



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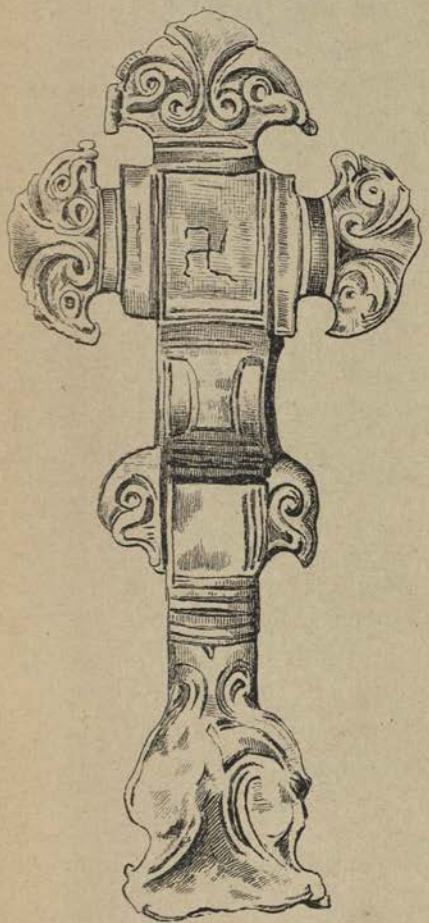

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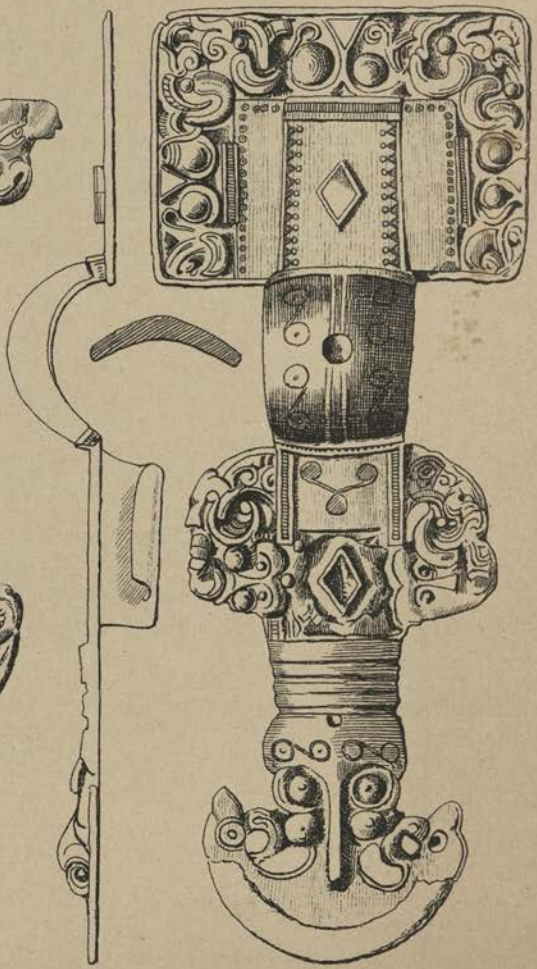

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PLATE VII.

SQUARE-HEADED FIBULÆ.

1.—Bronze, gilt. Haslingfield (Cambridgeshire). (Evans Collection.)

2.—Bronze, gilt. Chessell Down (Isle of Wight). (British Museum.)

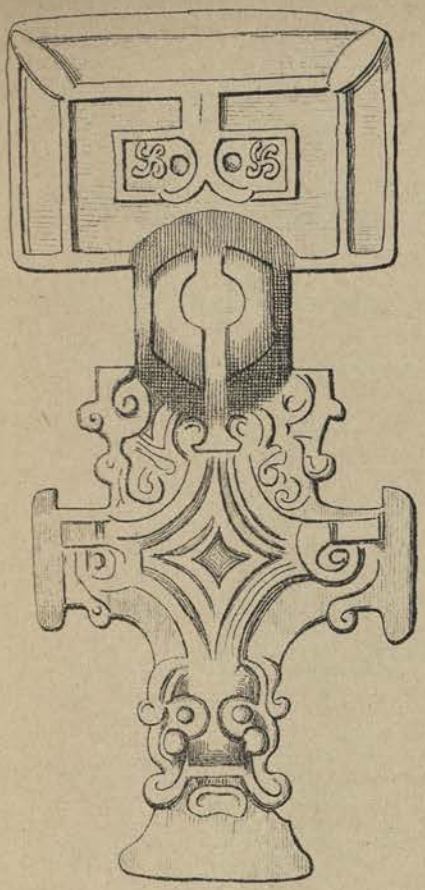
3.—Barrington (Cambridgeshire).

4.—Bronze, parcel gilt. Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

5.—Bronze, gilt. Barrington (Cambridgeshire). (Conybeare Collection.)

6.—Bronze, gilt, set with Garnets. Chessell Down (Isle of Wight). (British Museum.)

1



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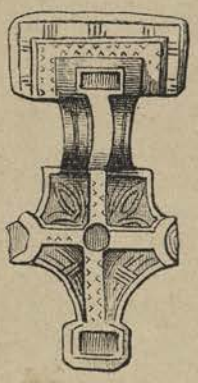

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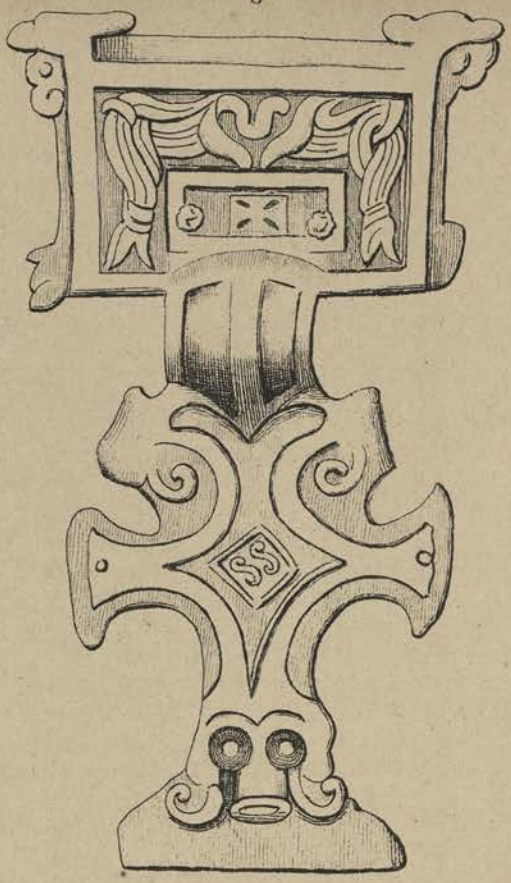

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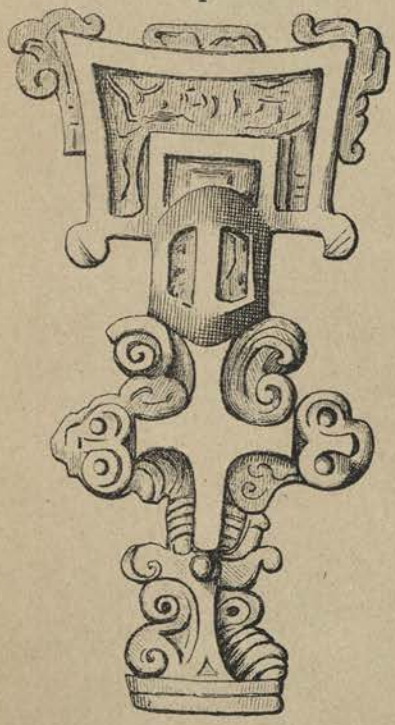

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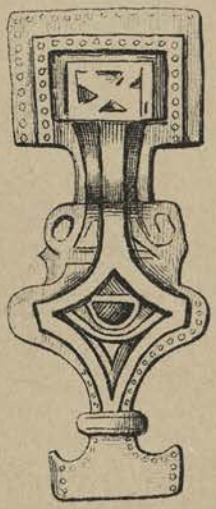

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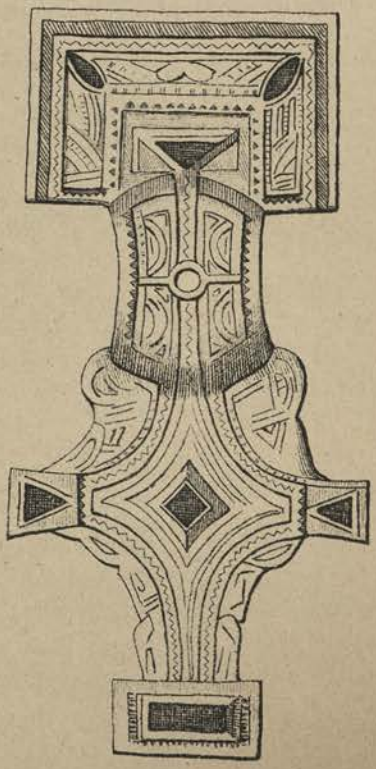

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PLATE VIII.

SAUCER-SHAPED FIBULÆ.

1.—Bronze, gilt, set with one Garnet. Wheatley (Oxon). (Ashmolean Museum.)

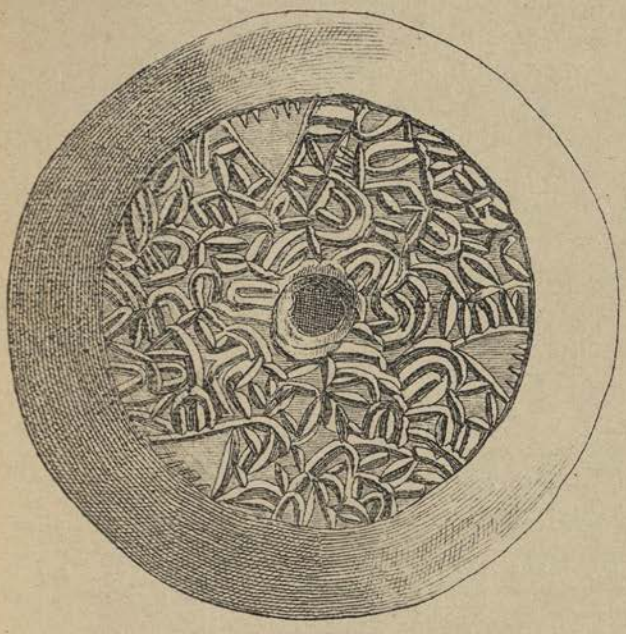
2.—Bronze, parcel gilt. Stone (Buckinghamshire). (British Museum.)

3.—Bronze, gilt. Fairford (Gloucestershire). (Ashmolean Museum.)

4.—Brighthampton (Oxon). (Ashmolean Museum.)

5.—Bronze, gilt. Remenham (Berkshire). (British Museum.)

1



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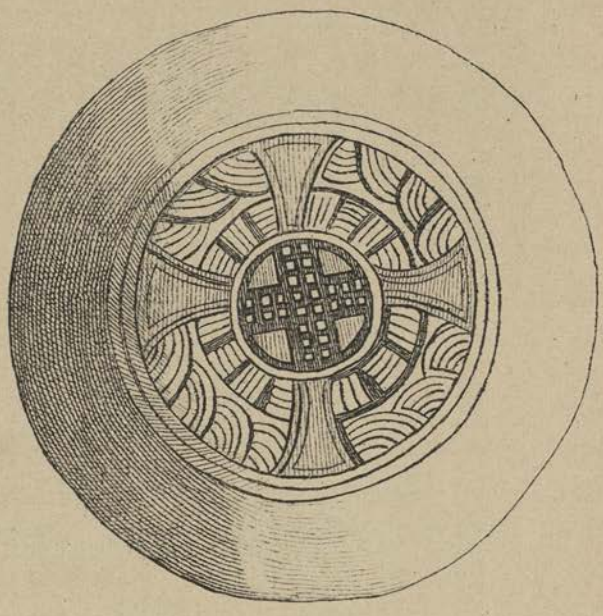

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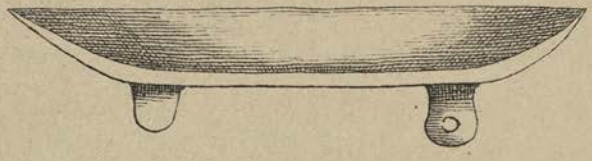

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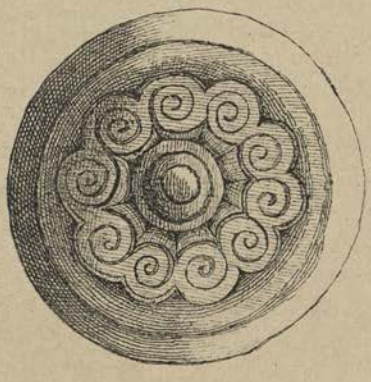
4 A



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B

B

B

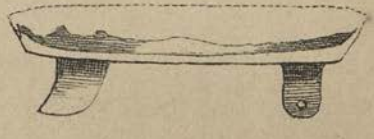

PLATE IX.

ANNULAR FIBULÆ.

1.—Bronze. Rugby (Warwickshire).

2.—Bronze. Stow Heath (Suffolk).

3.—White Metal. Fairford (Gloucestershire).

4.—White Metal. Fairford (Gloucestershire.)

5.—Silver, Gold, Garnets and Ivory. Between Bosworth (Leicestershire) and Welford (Northamptonshire).

6.—Bronze. Rugby (Warwickshire).

7.—Bronze, with Remains of Iron. Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

8.—Gold, set with Garnets. Stamford (Lincolnshire).

9.—Bronze. Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

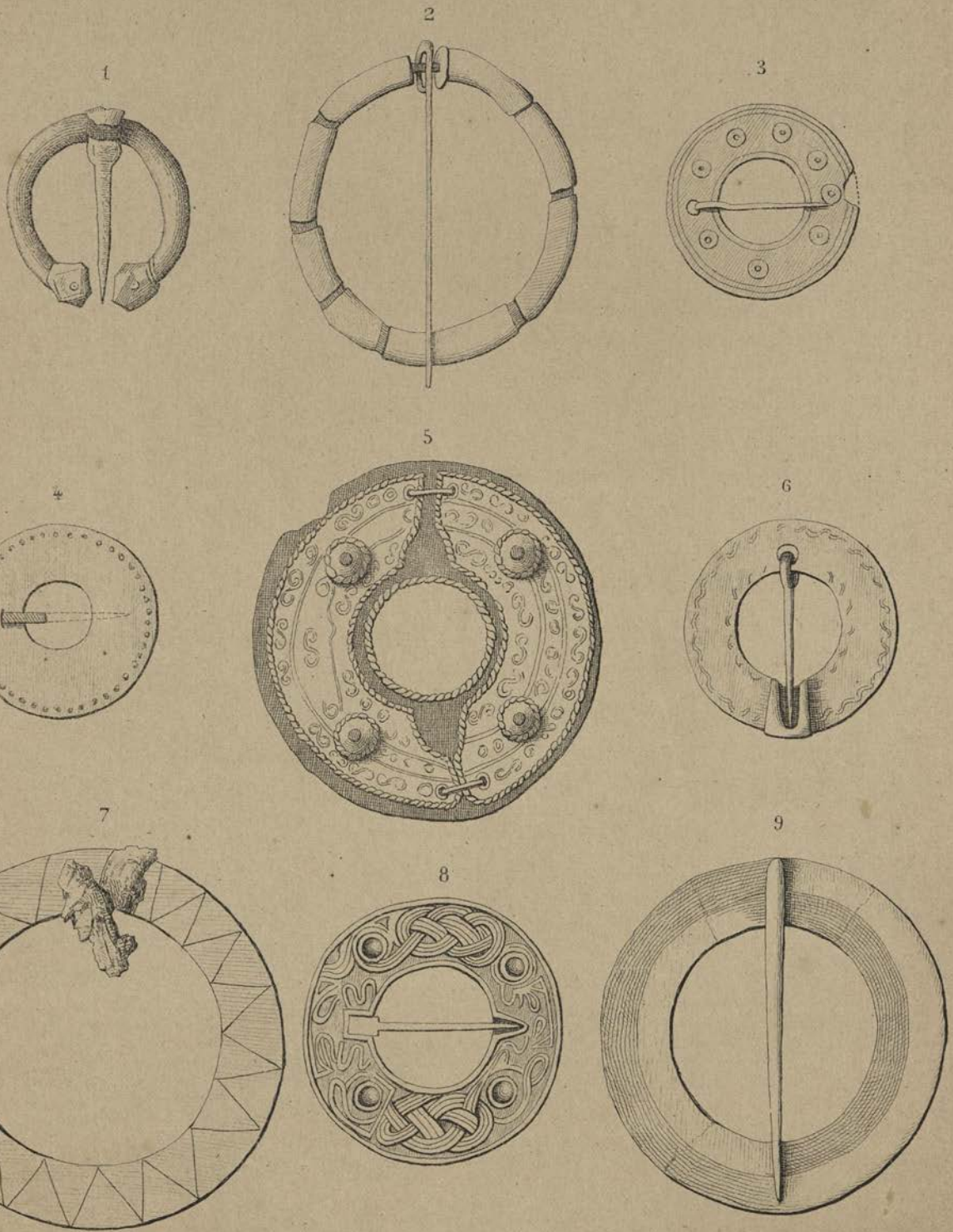

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PLATE X.

KENTISH CIRCULAR FIBULÆ.

1.—Sibertswold.

2.—Faussett Collection.

3.—Gilton.

4.—Chartham Down.

5.—Wingham.

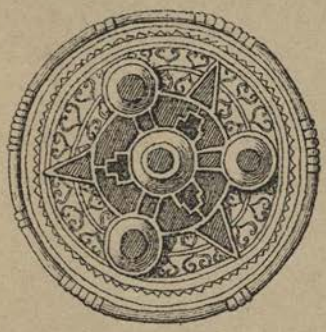
6.—Chatham.

7.—Faversham.

8.—Ash.

9.—Faversham.

1



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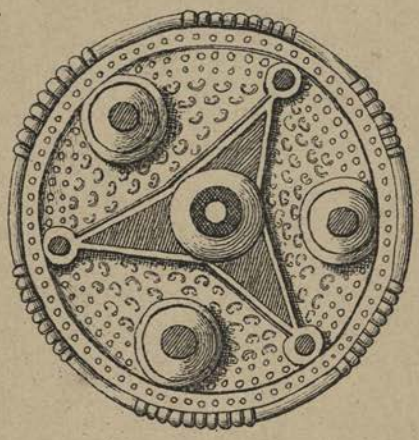

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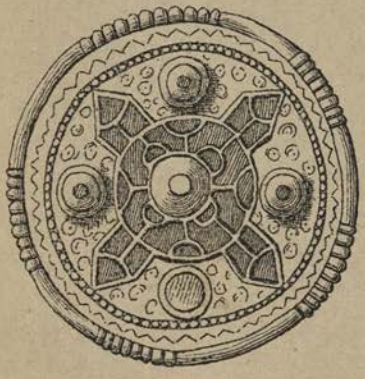

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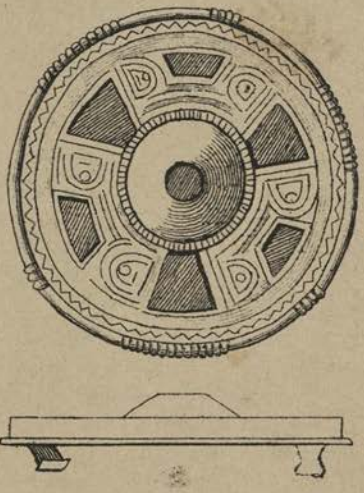

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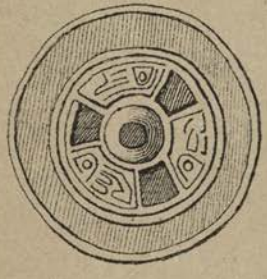

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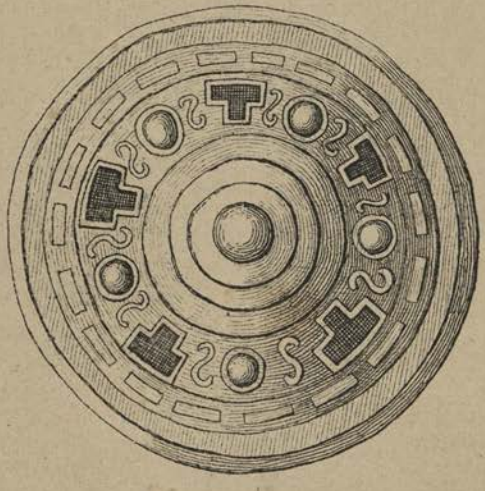

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PLATE XI.

GIRDLE HANGERS.

1.—Stowe Heath (Suffolk).

2.—Searby (Cambridgeshire).

3.—Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

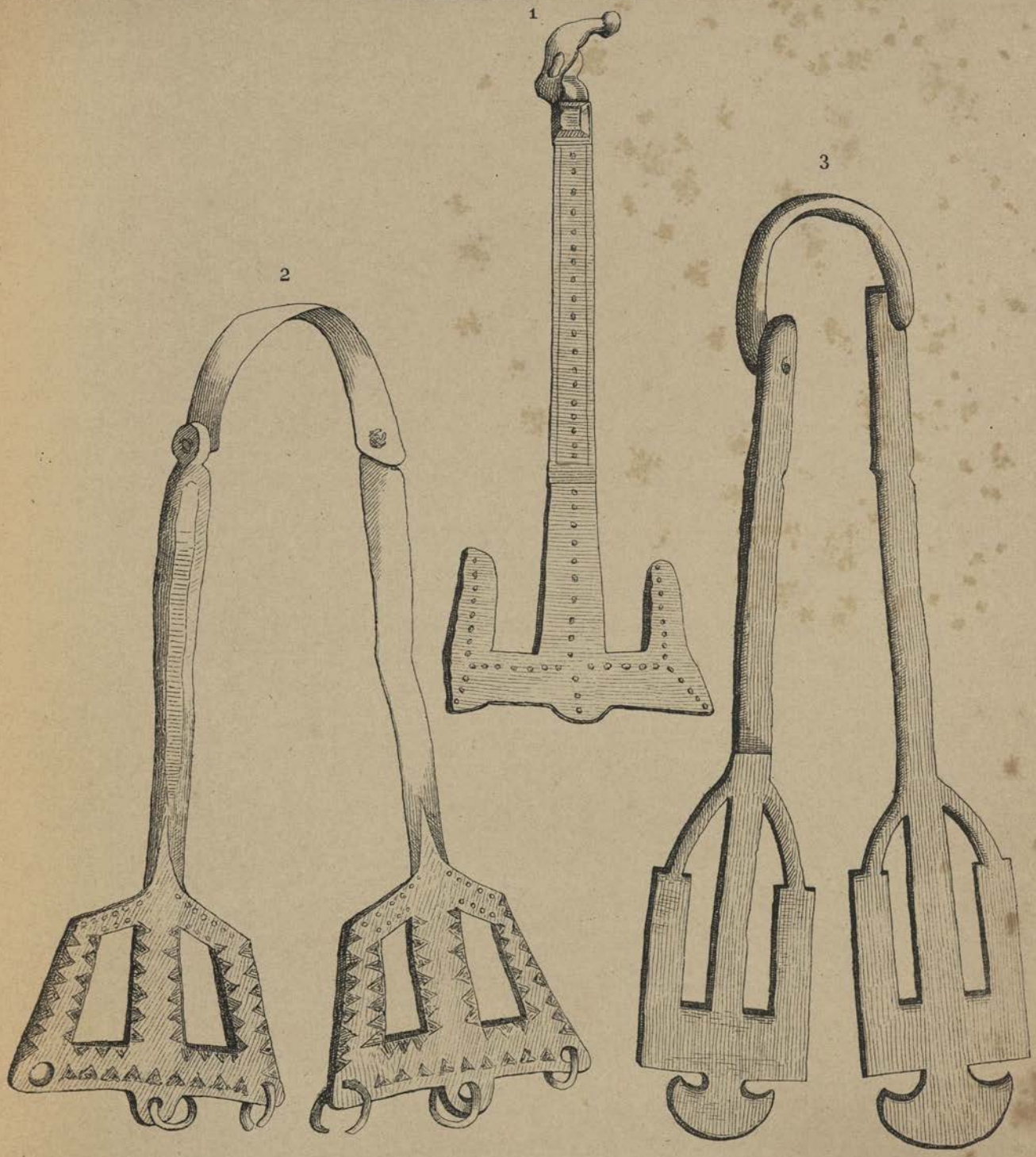

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PLATE XII.

BUCKLES.

1.—Bronze. Dorchester (Oxon). (Ashmolean Museum.)

2.—White metal, ornamented with Garnets and Green Enamel. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

3.—Bronze. Long Wittenham (Berkshire).

4.—Silver-gilt. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

5.—Bronze. Chatham (Kent). (Ashmolean Museum.)

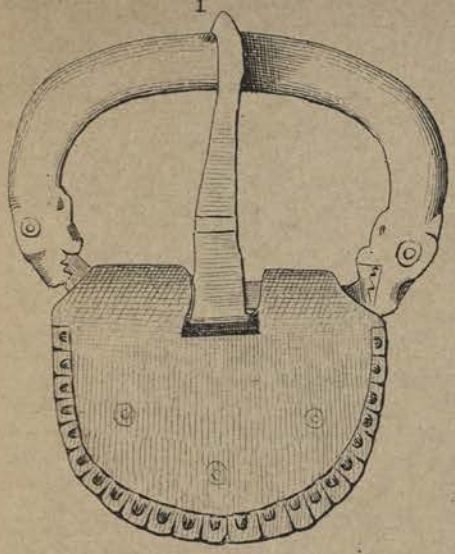
6.—Silver-gilt, set with Garnets. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

7.—Bronze. Chatham (Kent). (Ashmolean Museum.)

8.—Bronze. Chessell Down (Isle of Wight). (British Museum.)

9.—Bronze. Faversham (Kent). (South Kensington Museum.)

1



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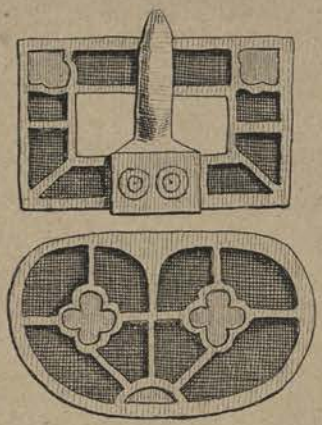

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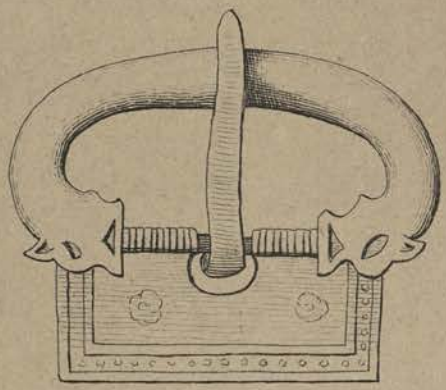

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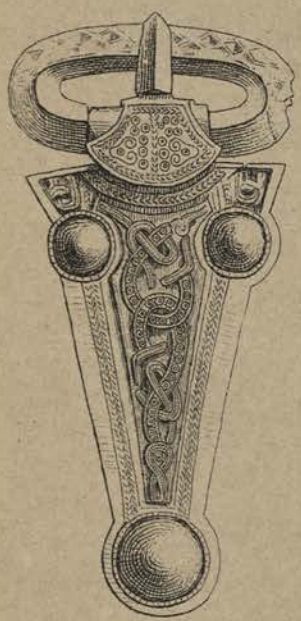

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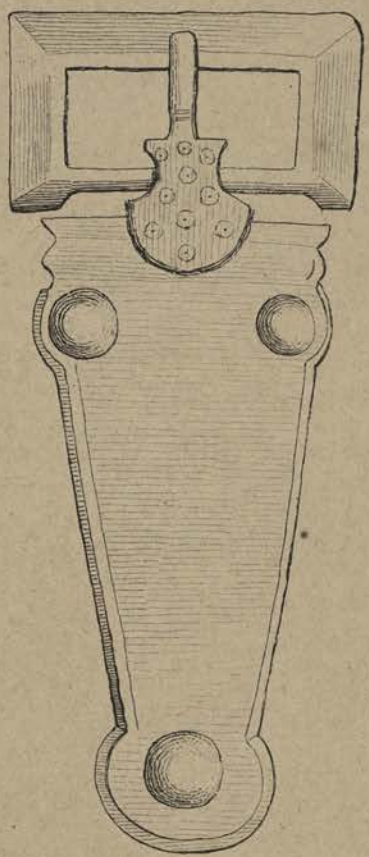

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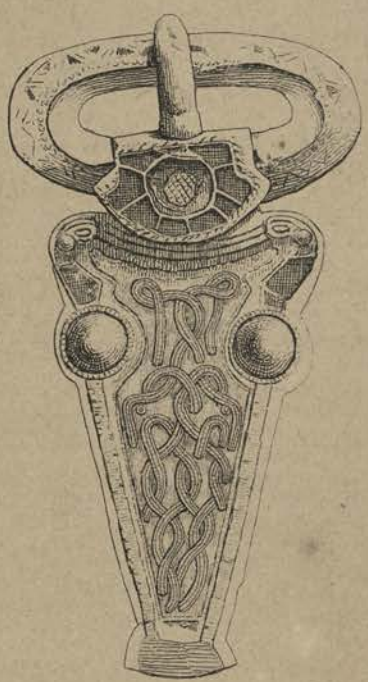

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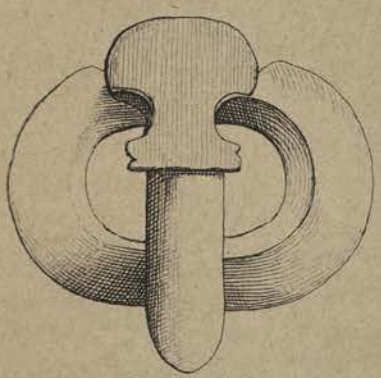

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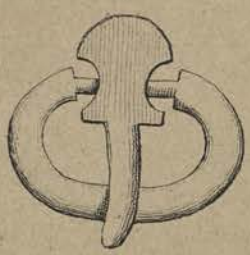

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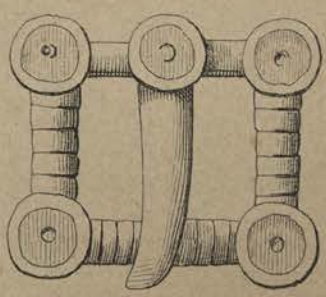


PLATE XIII.

SITULÆ OR BUCKETS.

1.—Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

2.—Linton Heath (Cambridgeshire).

3.—Little Wilbraham (Cambridgeshire).

4.—Sleaford (Lincolnshire).

5.—Bourne Park (Kent).

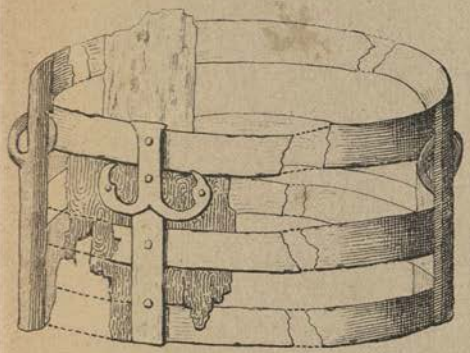
6.—Ash (Kent).

7.— . . . (Cambridgeshire).

8.—Fairford (Gloucestershire).

9.—Barrington (Cambridgeshire.)

1



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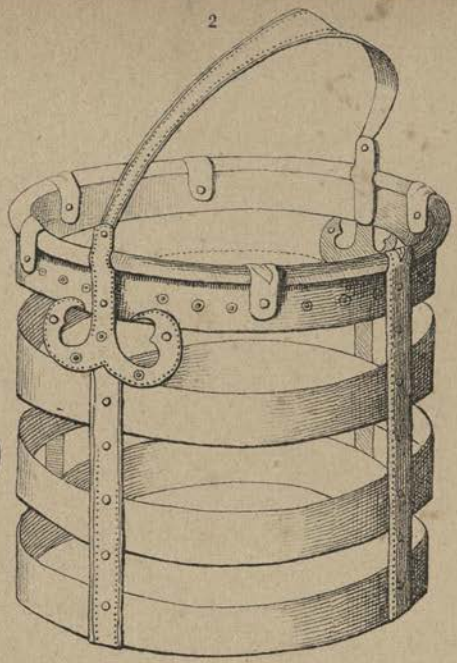

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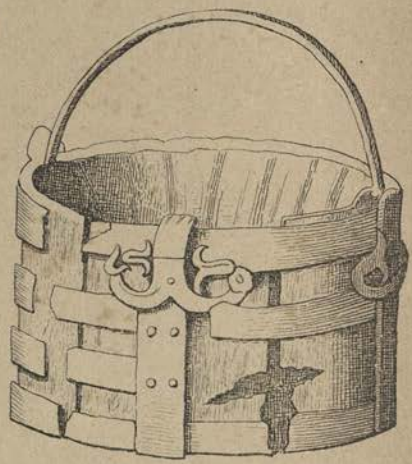

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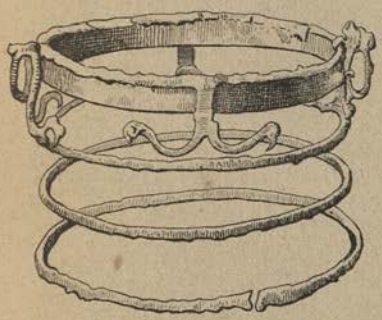

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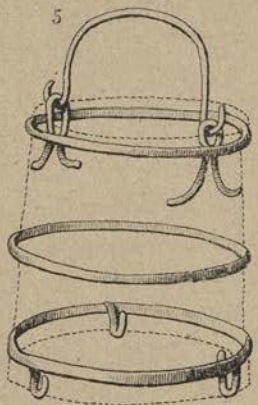

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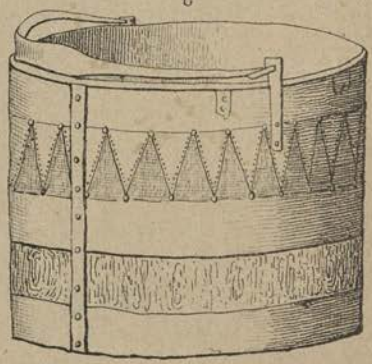

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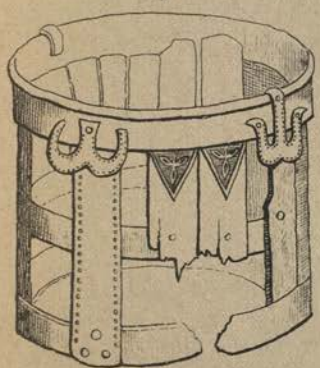

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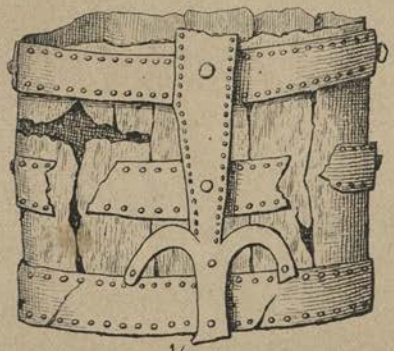

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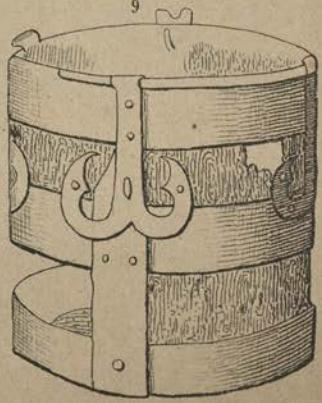


PLATE XIV.

GLASS VASES.

1.—Woodensborough (Kent).

2.—Linton Heath (Cambridgeshire).

3.—Kingston Down (Kent).

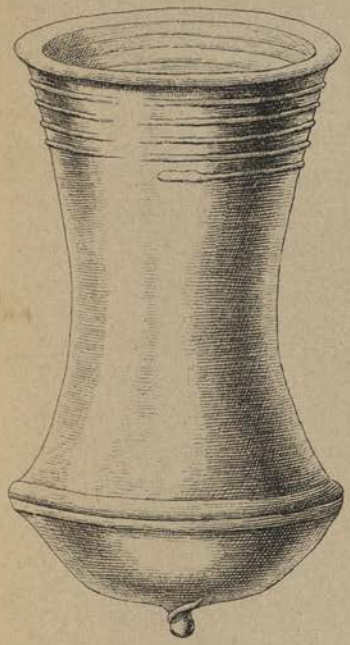
4.—Cuddesden (Oxon).

5.—Ashford (Kent).

6.—Chatham (Kent).

2

1



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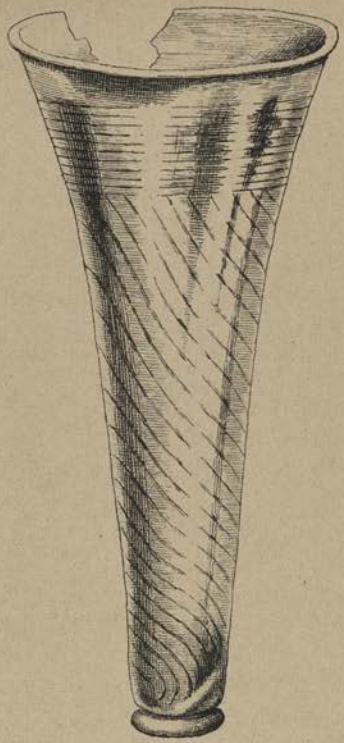

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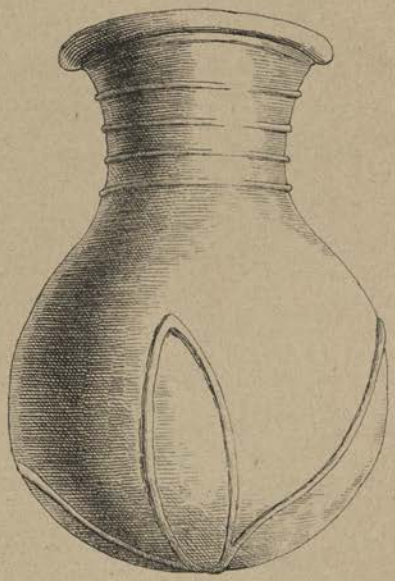

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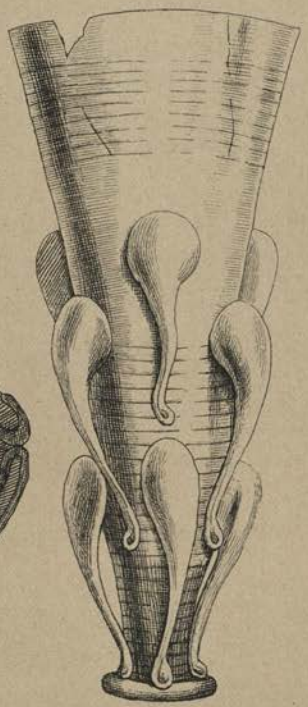

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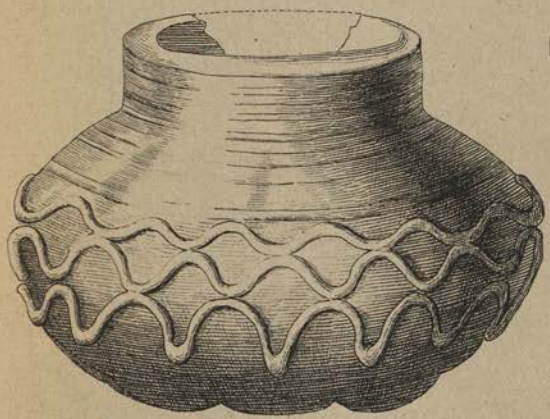

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PLATE XV.

GLASS VASES.

1.—Taplow (Buckinghamshire).

2.—Kempston (Bedfordshire).

3.—Gilton (Kent).

4.—Fairford (Gloucestershire).

5.—Kingston Down (Kent).

6.—Reculver (Kent).

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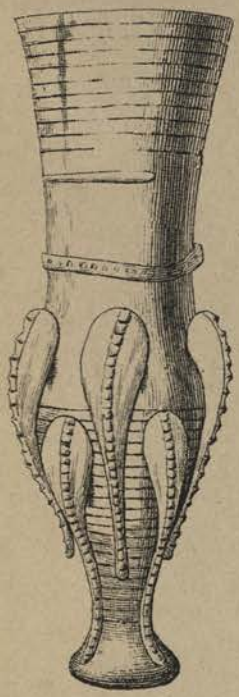

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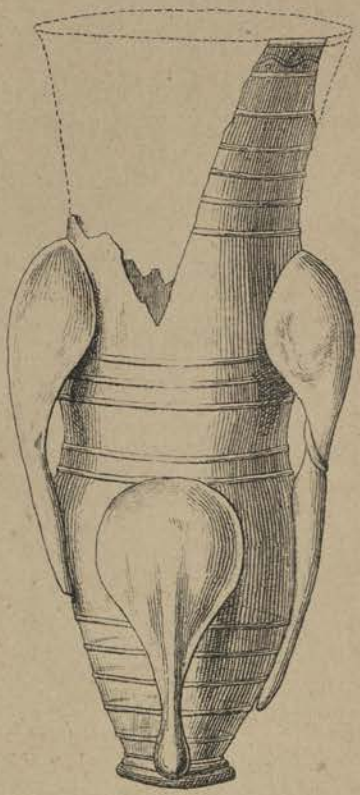

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PLATE XVI.

POTTERY.

1.—Kingston Down (Kent).

2.—Gilton (Kent).

3.—Kingston Down (Kent).

4.—Chessell Down (Isle of Wight).

5.—Breach Down (Kent).

6.—Faversham (Kent).

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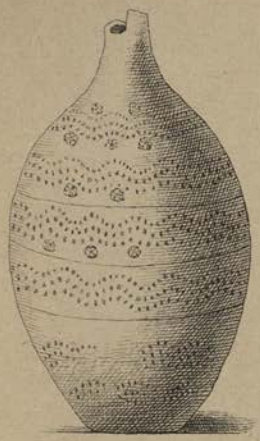

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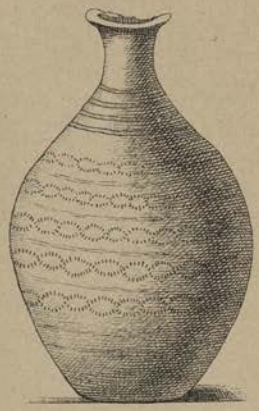

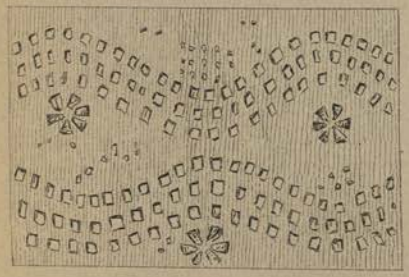

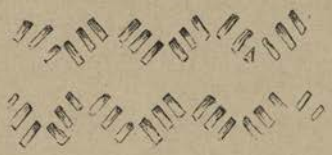

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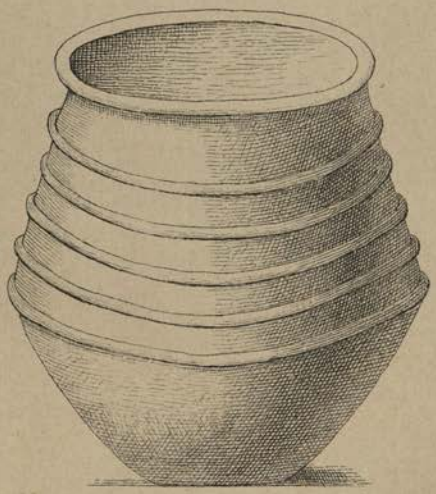

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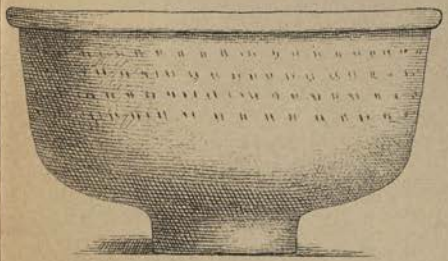

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—— *In Regilliano.*
Vopiscus, *In Carino.*

APPENDIX II.

TABLE OF CEMETERIES.

ENGLAND.

Bedfordshire—
- Kempston.

Berkshire—
- Abingdon.
- Reading.
- Long Wittenham.

Buckinghamshire—
- Ashendon.
- Dinton.
- Mentmore.
- Taplow.

Cambridgeshire—
- Haslingfield.
- Linton Heath.
- Little Wilbraham.
- Soham.

Durham—
- Castle Eden.

Essex—
- Colchester.

Gloucestershire—
- Chavenage.
- Fairford.

Isle of Wight—
- Chessell Down.

Kent—
- Ash.
- Ashford.
- Barfriston Down.
- Bourne Park.
- Breach Down.
- Canterbury.

Kent (continued)—
- Cavoran.
- Chartham Down.
- Chatham.
- Coombe.
- Faversham.
- Folkestone Hill.
- Gilton.
- Harrietsham.
- Heppington.
- Kingston Down.
- Ozingell.
- Richborough.
- Sandgate.
- Sandwich.
- Sarre.
- Sibertswold.
- Sittingbourne.
- Wingham.
- Woodensborough.

Leicestershire—
- Billesdon.
- Husband's Bosworth.
- Rothley Temple.

Lincolnshire—
- Scaleby.
- Searby.
- Sleaford.
- Stamford.

Norfolk—
- Kenninghall.
- Sporle.
- Walsingham.

Northamptonshire—
- Barrow Furlong.
- Desborough.
- Norton.
- Welford.

Northumberland—
- Hexham.

Oxfordshire—
- Brighthampton.
- Cuddesdon.
- Dorchester.
- Iffley.
- Islip.

Suffolk—
- Eye.
- Icklington.
- Little Bealings.
- Stowe Heath.
- Tostock.

Surrey—
- Farthing Down.

Sussex—
- Lancing.
- Lewes.

Warwickshire—
- Marston Hill.
- Ragley Park.
- Rugby.
- St. Nicholas.

Wiltshire—
- Harnham Hill.
- Roundway Down.
- St. Margaret's Plain.

Yorkshire—
Driffield.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Dalmatia—
Narona.
Hungary—
Kalocsa.
Osztropataka.

BELGIUM.

Eprave.
Furfooz.
Harmignies.
Pondrome.
Samson.
Spontin.
Tournay.

FRANCE.

Aisne—
Grugies.
Hombliéres.
Calvados—
Douvrend.
Vieux.
Champagne—
Oyes.
Pouan.
Lot—
Gourdon.
Meuse—
Verdun.
Oise—
Hermes.
Rue-St-Pierre.
Pas-de-Calais—
Hardenthun.
Mareuil.
Nesles-les-Verlincthun.
Nœux.
Pincthun.
Sens.
Seine-et-Oise—
Vicq.
Seine Inférieure—
Envermeu.
Somme—
Miannay.
Pecquigny.
Yonne—
Charnay.

GERMANY.

Northern Provinces—
Lüneburg.
Nieuburg.
Oberstein.
Stade-on-the-Elbe.
Wolpe.
Rhenish Provinces and Hesse—
Alzey.
Heddesdorf.
Monsheim.
Nordendorf.
Schiersteiner.
Worms.
Schleswig—
Borgstedt.
Frestedt.
Immenstedt.
Nydam.
Swabia—
Oberflacht.
Selzen.
Sinzheim.
Wittislingen.

ITALY.

Lombardy—
Monza.
Testona.
Romagna—
Ravenna.

ROUMANIA.

Petrossa.

RUSSIA.

Novotcherkask.

SPAIN.

Guarrazar.
Oviedo.

SWEDEN.

Oland.
Svanskog.

SWITZERLAND.

St. Moritz.

INDEX.

ABINGDON (Berks), 70.
Ælfsige, grant of lands to, 64.
Æthelstan, 13, 34, 91.
Æthelbert, King of Kent, 119.
Ætheric, 14.
Agathias, 25, 26.
Akerman, Yonge, 20, 21, 26, 29, 30, 31, 34, 43, 47, 53, 55, 64, 77, 79, 80, 84, 86, 90, 93, 96, 102, 103, 106, 125; his publications, vii.
Alaric, 30.
Alcuin, letter of, 87.
Alfred, 91.
Alzey (Germany), 83.
Amber, beads of, 78; its use forbidden, 79.
Ambrose, St. 93.
Amethysts, beads of, 78; whence obtained, 79.
Amulets, large beads used as, 77; crystal balls as, 80.
Angles, the, 7; etymology of the name, 7.
Anglo-Saxons, the, 10; beauty of their jewellery, 11; their weapon the spear, 21; did not use the bow, 30; drinking habits of, 106; conversion of, 119; burial rites of, 119, 123; form of their tumuli, 121.
Angul, 7.
Ansegio, capitularies of, 33.
Antiquaries, Society of, 87.
Ash (Kent), 18, 30, 67.
Ashendon (Bucks), 55.
Ashford (Kent), 110.
Augustine, 119.

BALDRICS, 91.
Barfriston Down (Kent), 85.
Barrington (Cambs.), 21, 35, 44, 45, 48, 52, 55, 60, 97.
Barrow Furlong (Northants), 48, 88, 123.
Battle-axe, the, at Hastings, 29; a missile weapon, 30.
Baudot, 5, 23, 77, 101, 102.
Beads, mystical virtues of, 76; the large variety, 77; materials used for, 78.
Beck, Rev. Mr., 28.
Bede, 3, 8, 9, 81, 87, 104, 105.
Bellemberg-Vochringen (Germany), 111.
Benedict, Abbot of Wearmouth, 105.
"Beowulf," 18; his sword, 18; the *seax* in, 27; his iron shield, 32; crystal ball worn by, 80; funeral ceremonies of, 122, 123.
Bertha, Queen of Kent, 87, 119.
Billesdon (Leicester), 48, 53.
Blutstein, the, 80.
Borgstedt (Schleswig), 12, 95.
Bourne Park (Kent), 98.
Bow, the, used only in the chase, 30.
Bowman, Mr., 48.
Braybrooke, Lord, 48.
Breach Down (Kent) 79, 82, 86, 112.
Bremen, Adam of, 3.
Brent, Mr., 20, 81.
Brera Museum (Milan), 21.
Brighthampton (Oxon), 58, 99.
British Museum, 43, 44, 48, 52, 53, 60, 61, 86, 117.
Bruce, Dr., 26.
Buckets, 97; one used as a mortuary urn, 100; materials employed in, 102; uses of, 102, 103.
Buckles, 90; scarcity of, inland, 90; dragon-headed, 93, 95; in cloisonné, 94.
Burghs, Sussex, 121.
Burial rites of the Anglo-Saxons, 119, 123.

CALANDRA, M., 23.
Canterbury (Kent), 30, 124; Museum of, 86, 109.
Canute, law of, regarding *heriots*, 14, 31; charter of, 30.
Carausius, invades Britain, 67.
Carinus, 62.
Castle Eden (Durham), 109.

Cavoran (Kent), 26.
Charlemagne, capitularies of, 14, 31 ; on burial customs, 119, 120, 124.
Charleroi Museum, 23.
Charnay (Burgundy), 68, 78, 101.
Chartham Down (Kent), 66, 85.
Chatham (Kent), 41, 67, 80, 108.
Chavenage (Gloucester), 6, 84.
Chessell Down (Isle of Wight), 30, 42, 44, 52, 54, 63, 81, 96, 112.
Chiflet, M., 77.
Childebert, 65.
Childeric, the tomb of, 83.
Cists, 125.
Claudianus, 93.
Claudius the Goth, 62.
Clay used for beads, 78 ; in pottery, 115.
Cloisonné, Scythian origin of, 68 ; wide distribution of, 68 ; materials employed in, 72 ; buckles of, 94.
Cluver, Philip, 3, 8, 124.
Cochet, the Abbé, 23, 87, 91, 97, 101, 103, 109.
Colchester (Essex), 30, 124.
Combs, 87 ; Irish, 89.
Conybeare Collection, the, 53.
Coombe (Kent), 16, 110.
Corippus, 63, 93.
Cremation, continuance of, in England, 11, 123 ; contemporaneous with inhumation, 114 ; a purely pagan rite, 124.
Crimea, 94.
Crystal balls used for occult purposes, 79 ; as amulets, 80 ; perforated, 82.
Cuddesden (Oxon), 106.

Danjou, M., 101.
d'Anville, 11.
Darmstadt Museum, 26.
de Bonstetten, M., 23.
de Coussemaker, M., 9.
de Loë, Baron, 110.
Desborough (Northants), 108.
Dinton (Bucks), 107.
Diocletian, 124.
Dorchester (Oxon), 94, 95.
Douglas, 47, 65, 66, 67, 70, 78, 79, 80, 99, 108, 120 ; his publications, vi.
Douvrend (Normandy), 97, 109 ; the crown of, 97.
Dover (Kent), 102.
Driffield (Yorks), 21, 48.
Ducange, 2, 25.
Duckett, 8.

Eadgard, canons of, 120.
Earic, son of Wynflede, 14.
Ebissa invades England, 82.
Edgard, 64.
Edward the Confessor, 3.
Egbert, edict of, 8.
Envermeu (Normandy), 68, 99, 101.
Éprave (Belgium), 110.
Estorff, Baron, 18.
Ethelbert, 87.
Ethelwerd, 8.
Evans, Arthur, explorations of, 111.
Evans, John, collection of, 43, 48, 83, 93.
Eye (Suffolk), 88, 117, 118.

Fairford (Gloucester), 21, 35, 44, 45, 52, 55, *et seq.*, 82, 84, 90, 100, 102, 110, 123.
Farthing Down (Surrey), 34.
Faussett, Rev. Bryan, 20, 21, 28, 30, 47, 65 *et seq.*, 78, 85, 113 ; his publications, vi.
Faversham (Kent), 19, 21, 30, 41 *et seq.*, 63, 67, 80, 86, 90, 92, 108, 112.
Fibulæ, 37 ; classification of, 38 ; rich decoration of, among the Romans, 62 ; imported from Illyria, 62.
Fibulæ, birdshaped, found with hairpins of same type, 86.
Fibulæ, circular, three classes of, 65.
Fibulæ, cruciform, of Scandinavian origin, 46 ; peculiar to the Angles, 49 ; distribution of, 49.
Fibulæ, Kentish, compared with Frankish, 63.
Finch, Mr., 115.
Folkestone, Saxon mound near, 122.
Folkestone Hill, 42.
Fosi, 4.
Foster, W. K., 21, 98.
Fowler, Jas., on glass-making, 104.
Framea, the, 20.
Francisca, the, 29.
Franks, the, 3 ; arms of, 15 ; resemblance of their art to that of Kent and the Isle of Wight, 45, 63, 90, 112, 126 ; close connection with Kent, 119.
Frestedt (Schleswig), 34.
Frisians, the, 8 ; earliest settlers in England, 84.
Furfooz (Belgium), 102.
Futile, the, 106.

Gallienus, 62 ; forbids use of glass, 105.
Garnets in cloisonné jewellery, 72 ; in beads, 78.
Genoa, the *sacro catino* of, 105.
Gilton (Kent), 16, 21, 28, 33, 35, 67, 85, 86, 92, 99, 108, 112, 113.

Girdle-hangers, 74; where found, 75.
Glass, beads, 78; vases, 104; the art lost in England, 104.
Goldsmiths, skill of Anglo-Saxon, 11; esteem in which held, 64.
Gourdon (Aquitaine), 68.
Gregory of Tours, 27.
Gregory the Great, 87, 119.
Grotius, 2.
Grugies (Aisne), 111.
Guarrazar (Spain), 68.

HAMARD, the Abbé, 110.
Hampel, M., 102.
Hardenthun (Pas-de-Calais), 102.
Harmignies (Belgium), 110.
Harnham Hill (Wilts), 20, 21, 33, 58, 96, 123.
Harrietsham (Kent), 42.
Haslingfield (Cambs.), 43, 48, 113, 117.
Heddesdorf (Germany), 83.
Hengist, 28.
Henley-on-Thames (Oxon), 24.
Heppington (Kent), 65, 70.
Heriots, 14.
Hermes (Oise), 110.
Hexham (Northumberland), 100.
Hildebrand, H., 12, 46, 50.
Hillier, Mr., 16, 31, 42, 81.
Homblières (Aisne), 22.
Honorius, 1.
Houben, Philip, 97.
Husband's Bosworth (Leicester), 60.

ICKLINGHAM (Suffolk), 30.
Iffley (Oxon), 43.
Immenstedt (Schleswig), 24.
Inhumation, contemporaneous with cremation, 114; not exclusively Christian, 115; first practised in Kent, 123.
Isidore of Seville, 104.
Isle of Wight, resemblance of art to that of the Franks, 45; settled by Jutes, 81.
Islip (Oxon), 61.
Ivory used in cloisonné, 72.

JEWELLERY, beauty of Anglo Saxon, 11; Barbarian, worn in Rome, 63.
Jutes, the, various forms of the word, 2; the earliest invaders of England, 2; settled in the Isle of Wight, 81.
Justinus II., 63.

KALOCSA (Hungary), 68.
Kemble, 14, 15, 18, 22, 28, 34, 90; his publications, vi.; his explorations in Germany, 116.
Kempston (Beds), 82, 100, 107, 115, 124.
Kenninghall (Norfolk), 53.
Kent, first settlement of, 2, 81; circular fibulæ, peculiar to, 62; resemblance of art to that of the Franks, 63, 90, 112, 126; close connection with the Continent, 119.
Keysler, 96.
Kingston Down (Kent), 21, 28, 35, 70, 73, 80, 85, 91, 96, 108, 112, 113.
Kormak Saga, the, 80.

LAGORE, 89.
Lancea uncata, the, 24, 26.
Lancing (Sussex), 89.
Lapis Lazuli used in cloisonné, 72.
Laplanders, use of steels by, 96.
Lazius, Uvolfgangus, 24.
Leicester Museum, 53.
Leo IX. Pope, 15.
Lewes (Sussex), 125.
Lindenschmit, 28, 86, 95, 97.
Linton Heath (Cambs.), 53, 98, 102, 107.
Little Bealings (Suffolk), 28.
Little Wilbraham (Cambs.), 16, 19, 21, 28, 30, 33, 36, 42, 52, 60, 61, 75, 88, 90, 98, 113, 114, 123.
Lombards, the, special form of their spear, 23; used the bow in war, 31; used radiated fibulæ, 40; their cloisonné, 68.
Londesborough, Lord, 82.
Long Wittenham (Berks), 94, 95, 99.
Lüneburg (Germany), 18, 117.
Lupus, St., comb of, 87.
Luxemburg, 23.

MAREUIL (Pas-de-Calais), 101.
Marston Hill (Warwick), 54.
Martin, Henri, 38.
Masson, 76.
Maximianus, 124.
Maximinus, coin of, 114.
Mayence Museum, 26, 65, 95, 102.
Mayer, Mr., 67.
Mentmore (Bucks), 125.
Mestorf, Mdlle., explorations of, 12, 21, 34.
Miannay (Somme), 101.
Monsheim (Germany), 102.
Montelius, 50.
Monza (Lombardy), 68, 105.

Moreau, F., 83, 96.
Mortuary urn, bucket used as, 100.
Mother-o'-pearl, used in cloisonné, 72.
Münster, Count, explorations of, 18.
Müntz, Mr., 54.
Muratori, 33.

NADUS, 12.
Namur, M., 23.
Namur Museum, 23, 102, 110.
Narona (Dalmatia), 111.
Nenius, 28, 82.
Nesles-les-Verlincthun (Pas-de-Calais), 83, 101.
Neville, 21, 28, 30, 42, 43, 48, 53, 55, 98, 124.
Nieuburg (Germany), 117.
Nœux (Pas-de-Calais), 101.
Nordendorf (Germany), 73, 83.
Norton (Northants), 52.
Norwich Museum, 48, 54.
Norse Sögur, the, 117.
Novotcherkask (Russia), 68.
Nydam (Schleswig), 21, 95.

OBERFLACHT (Germany), 18, 80, 102, 103.
Oberlin, 97.
Oberstein (Germany), 79.
Octa, 82.
Odin, 121.
Odobesco, M., 64, 72.
Offa, King of Mercia, 14.
Oland (Sweden), 46.
Orosius, Paul, 5.
Osztropataka (Hungary), 102.
Oviedo (Spain), 68.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum at, 34, 41.
Oyes (Champagne), 23.
Ozingell (Kent), 16, 20, 21, 30, 35, 42, 96.

PACHYMERES, 25.
Palgrave, Sir F., 8.
Pannonia, 94.
Pecquigny (Somme), 83.
Pellatt, Apsley, 110.
Petrossa (Roumania), 68.
Pilloy, M., 22, 93, 96, 110.
Pincthun (Pas-de-Calais), 102.
Pinkerton, 8.
Pliny, 78.
Plutarch, 15.
Pondrome (Belgium), 29.
Pouan (Champagne), 68.
Potsherds, in Anglo-Saxon graves, 120.
Procopius, 40.
Prudentius, 93.
Ptolemy, 3, 4, 7, 8.

RAGLEY PARK (Warwick), 52.
Ravenna (Romagna), 68.
Read, Chas., 53.
Reading (Berks), 18.
Reculver (Kent), 109.
Regillianus, 62.
Richborough (Kent), 30.
Riculf, Archbishop of Metz, 88.
Rodet, L., 9.
Rolfe Collection, 18, 92.
Rothley Temple (Leicester), 47.
Roundway Down (Wilts), 102.
Rue-St.-Pierre (Oise), 101.
Rugby (Warwick), 43, 60.
Rubies used in cloisonné, 72.

S DECORATION, 60, 67.
Sachs, the, 4.
Sacrifices to the dead, 120.
St. Benedict, 105.
St. Eloi, 79.
St. Gall, the monk of, 16.
St. Margaret's Plain (Wilts), 102.
St. Moritz (Switzerland), 68.
St. Nicholas (Warwick), 52.
Samson (Belgium), 102.
Sandgate (Kent), 102.
Sandwich (Kent), 30.
Sarre (Kent), 20, 81.
Saxo Grammaticus, 96.
Saxons, the origin of the name, 4; from Schleswig, 5; their warlike qualities, 5; confederated with the Jutes and Angles, 7; the *seax* their weapon, 27.
Scabbards, 16.
Scaleby (Lincoln), 75.
Sceattas, 100.
Schaffer, 96.
Schiersteiner (Germany), 83, 102.
Schliemann, 49.
Searby (Lincoln), 43, 75.
Seax, the, in Beowulf, 27; carried in war by the Saxons, 27.
Selzen (Germany), 18, 74, 109.

Sens (Pas-de-Calais), 83.
Sens Cathedral, the treasure of, 87.
Sexaudrus, the, 28.
Shells, beads made of, 78.
Shield, the, of Beowulf, 32; with pointed umbo, 33.
Shieldwrights, the, of Winchester, 34.
Sibertswold (Kent), 21, 28, 34, 35, 66, 78, 85, 96, 108.
Sidonius, Apollinaris, 24, 26, 34, 88, 93.
Sinzheim (Germany), 18, 74.
Sittingbourne (Kent), 34, 70.
Situlæ. *See* Buckets.
Sleaford (Lincoln), 43, 48, 49, 61, 75, 84, 86, 100.
Smith, Roach, 12, 21, 26, 27, 30, 39, 41, 48, 63 *et seq.*, 70, 74 *et seq.*, 80, 85, 89 *et seq.*, 96, 105, 109, 113, 115.
Smithfield, 95.
Soden Smith, 88.
Soham (Cambs.), 75.
South Kensington Museum, 20, 46, 68, 108.
Spartianus, 62.
Spatha, the, 15.
Spear, the, 20; the Anglo-Saxon national weapon, 21; dimensions of, 22.
Spontin (Belgium), 83, 102.
Sporle (Norfolk), 36, 48, 54, 75.
Stade-on-the-Elbe (Germany), 116, 117.
Stamford (Lincoln), 61, 84.
Steels, used by the Laplanders, 96.
Stilicho, 30.
Stockholm Museum, 46.
Stowe Heath (Suffolk), 48, 60, 75.
Strood (Kent), 26.
Suidas, 25.
Svanskog (Sweden), 46.
Swastika, the, 49.
Sword, the, rarity of, 13, 18; a mark of rank, 14; dimensions of, 16; of Beowulf, 18.

T-SHAPED ornament, 55, 56.
Tacitus, 4, 7, 16, 33, 78.
Talismans, beads used as, 77; steels used as, 96.
Taper-axe, the, 30.
Taplow (Bucks), 110.
Terninck, M., 101.
Testona (Lombardy), 20, 23, 31.
Thames, the, 28.
Theodolind, capitularies of, 105.
Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, 124.
Thomas, G. W., 75.
Tostock (Suffolk), 93.
Tournay (Belgium), 68.
Towneley Collection, the, 117.
Trebellius, Pollio, 62, 76.
Tumblers, 106.
Tumuli, form of Anglo-Saxon, 121.
Turquoises used in cloisonné, 72.

ULFCYTEL, 13.
Ultragotha, 65.
Umbones, pointed, 33.
Urns, mortuary, containing combs, 88; resemblance to those of Northern Europe, 113.

VAILLANT, 101.
Van Robais, 101.
Verdun (Lorraine), 101.
Vicq (Seine-et-Oise), 83.
Vieux (Calvados), 64.
Vopiscus, 62.

WALFRIC, 14.
Walsingham (Norfolk), 88.
Welford (Northants), 60.
Widukind, 27.
Wiesbaden Museum, 26, 80.
Wingham (Kent), 66, 86.
Wittislingen (Germany), 73.
Wolpe (Germany), 117.
Wood, Humphrey, collection of, 20.
Woodensborough (Kent), 108.
Worms (Germany), 95.
Worsaae, 102.
Wright, T., 22, 54, 75, 76, 85, 98, 106, 107, 110, 112.
Wyatt, 82.
Wylie, 21, 26, 29, 34, 50, 52, 77, 80, 82, 100, 105, 110, 120.

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